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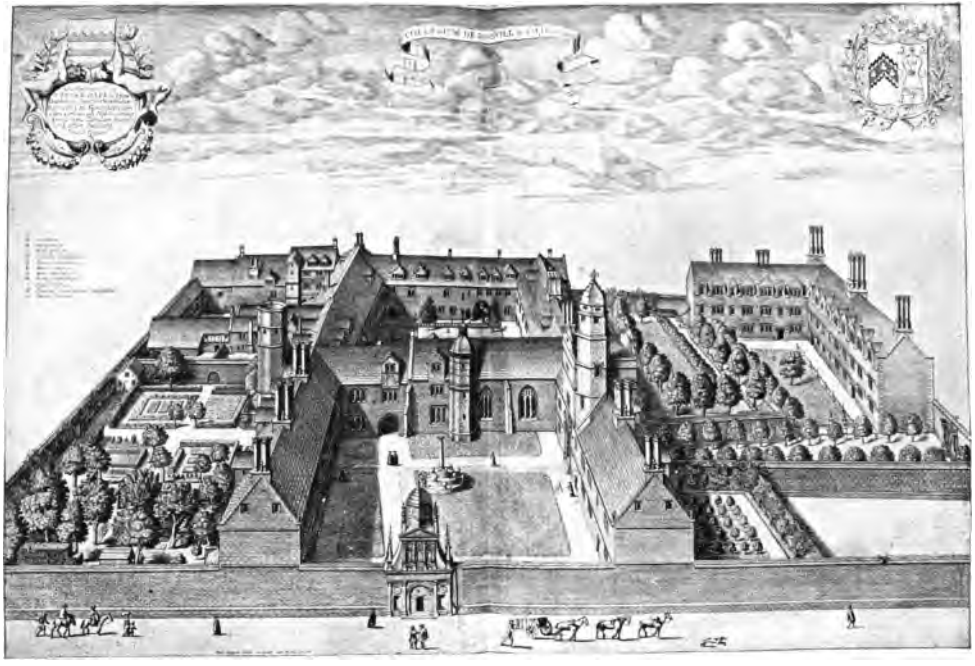

VIEW BY LOGGAN (*c.* 1688)

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

CAIUS COLLEGE

BY

JOHN VENN, Sc.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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28 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

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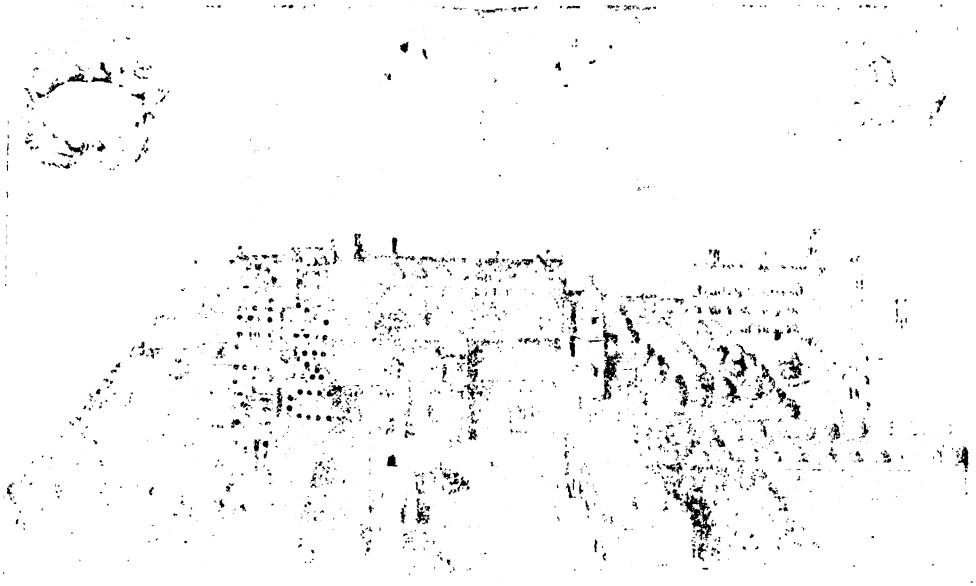

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PREFACE

At the time when this series of College Histories was commenced I had been for some time engaged on a more elaborate work of the same kind, including the publication, with biographical notes, of our Admission List from the foundation of the College. The third, and final, volume of that work will shortly be published.

It will be understood that the following brief History is an abstract of the above. As the two were partly written at the same time, some of the paragraphs will be found to be almost verbally repeated; but those who desire fuller information, reference to the specific evidence on which the conclusions are founded, and, in particular, personal details about the men referred to, should consult the 'Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College.' I have there given full acknowledgment of help received; but I must add here the names of Mr. Roberts, Tutor of the College, and Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's College, who kindly read through the proof-sheets for me.

J. VENN.

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NOTE.—In the above outline it will be understood that the broad division into periods is one that almost equally concerns every College. The particular dates assigned are determined by the special circumstances of our own College.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIEVAL QUIET: 1349-1530

'Nobis reges nil dedere.
Nil reginæ contulere.
Opibus privatis vere
Sumus instituti.'
Carmen Caianum.

Our ancient colleges owe their foundation to many and various sources. Some represent the stately patronage of Kings and Queens; others are due to the liberality and foresight of medieval prelates; others, again, to the piety of some great nobleman, or more frequently to that of his widow. Two religious guilds provided the endowment of Corpus, and a wealthy statesman,—Sir W. Mildmay,—'planted the tree,' as he told Queen Elizabeth, of Emmanuel. Gonville Hall is an almost solitary instance, in either University, of a college founded by a parish priest.

The Gonville family, to whom, as will be seen hereafter, we owe more than the first foundation of our College, is a somewhat remarkable one. It was not of ancient standing in the country. It did not spring at once into rank and fame by royal favour. There

are no vicissitudes or tragedies in its brief history. It starts at once in a good position in the county and in the State; it held this position for five generations, and then died out. We first hear of the Gonvilles in the person of William de Gonvile, who is described in 1295 as a native-born subject of the King of France resident in Norfolk. His eldest son, Sir Nicholas, married an heiress of the Lerling family, and thus acquired considerable property. His youngest son Edmund, like most of the family, was a priest. He held successively the livings of Thelnetham, Suffolk, Rushworth, Norfolk, and Terrington, near Lynn, but never attained to any rank or dignity in the Church beyond that of Commissary to the Bishop of Ely. He was steward to the Earl Warren and the Earl of Lancaster, but seems to have taken no part in any of the many affairs of State in which the more distinguished clerics of the time were accustomed to share. He lived and died a parish priest.

The first sign of Gonville's active interest in spiritual matters, beyond the limits of his own parish, was shown in the House of Friars Preachers of Thetford, established about 1330 by the Earl of Lancaster, at the instigation, as it is said, of Gonville. Then followed the College at Rushworth by Thetford. This foundation deserves some notice, for, though belonging to a class which was afterwards not uncommon, it appears to have marked a new departure at the time. It seems to show also that Gonville was beginning to think that the old monastic methods were not now those best fitted to benefit the Church. Rushworth was a college or community of secular priests, under the supervision

of the Bishop. It consisted of a Master and four Fellows. They had the spiritual charge of the village and church of Rushworth, and were of course bound to a daily round of services; but they constituted in no sense a monastic foundation, from the ideal of which their duties widely diverged. This College survived for two centuries. It apparently avoided all scandal, and did its appointed duty well; but, as coming under the designation of a religious foundation, it shared the common fate of the monasteries and chantries, and was suppressed December 6, 1541.

Whence Gonville obtained the funds for his benefactions is rather puzzling, for he was a younger son, and enjoyed none of those lucrative posts which the Church and State then provided for ambitious ecclesiastics. We can only conclude, with Dr. Bennet (see his 'Rushworth College'), that the resources were indirectly provided by his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Nicholas. This son, John, did not apparently bear a very good character, and was frequently in hiding. About 1342 he assigned the bulk of his property to his two brothers, who were both priests; and it seems highly likely that the influence of their uncle Edmund caused this property to be set aside for the endowment of the collegiate foundations in which he was interested.

Then followed the foundation by which Gonville is best known at the present day. Large as his benefactions had already been, he was still a rich man, or at least had the control of large funds. He had established a college of secular priests at Rushworth and a hospital at Lynn: where should he seek now for a fresh field of beneficence? For the ancient monastic system

he had apparently no high esteem, and it was many years since he had shown an interest in the Orders of Friars. Perhaps a recent residence in Cambridge may have convinced him that there was another and a better way of serving God and promoting the cause of His Church than that which was suggested by the old monastic ideal. Peterhouse, Michaelhouse, University Hall (afterwards Clare), and King's Hall, had all been recently founded, and two or three other colleges followed close after. The idea was evidently in the air at the time, and it is scarcely possible that Gonville could have resided in Cambridge and graduated in theology,—as he is said to have done about now,—without hearing the subject discussed. One would gladly know something of the motives which swayed the early founders, but the veil is not often lifted which hides the working of their minds; and the official deeds of foundation tell us only in general terms that they had in view the glory of God and the furtherance of wisdom and knowledge. As to two of the men with whom Gonville must have taken counsel, we can indeed guess with reasonable certainty. One of these was William Bateman, the learned canonist and busy man of State. He was not only Bishop of the diocese, but a personal friend of Gonville, and was left by him to carry out his scheme after his death. Bateman was keenly interested in the subject, for he was already planning his own foundation of Trinity Hall. His special sympathies,—for he was a great man of affairs, and familiar with the Papal Court of Avignon,—led him to the encouragement of the canon and civil law, whilst Gonville, as a parish priest, gave the first place

to the study of theology. But each must have been in general agreement with the other, and they must have both held that the main hope of the Church in their day lay in the establishment of houses for the training of the secular clergy. One other great man of that time was associated with Gonville, as an adviser if not an actual helper. This was Sir Walter Manny, the famous warrior, of whose deeds at Calais, and elsewhere in the war against France, Froissart has told us. It is expressly stated in the royal letters patent for the foundation of the College that permission was given at the request of Manny; and we know, too, that the great soldier was an intimate friend of Henry Duke of Lancaster, the friend and patron of Gonville.

An early founder had many obstacles to surmount in the way of licenses. The permission of the King had first to be obtained, allowing Gonville to establish his College on the land he had bought about a year before. This license is dated at Westminster, January 28, 1347-48. It was followed by other deeds, granted by those interested in the land, as, for instance, one by the Prior and Convent of Barnwell. The actual deed of foundation of the College is dated at Gonville's rectory of Terrington, June 4, 1349. It deserves notice that this was near the height, so far as Norfolk was concerned, of that awful plague commonly known as the Black Death. In this deed, preserved in our treasury, John Colton, or John of Tyrington, as he was otherwise called, is mentioned as having been appointed Master of the new Hall. It is the latest document we have during Gonville's lifetime. He lived just long enough to start his College on the site which he had

bought, which nearly coincided with the present Master's garden of Corpus Christi College. It was a humble beginning, for the site was a small one, and, as in the case of some other early foundations, the houses already standing on it were utilized without any present attempt at erecting more pretentious buildings. A body of statutes for the government of the College was drawn up, but it does not appear that there was time for them to come into operation before the comparatively early death of Gonville threw the completion of his designs into the hands of his executor, Bishop Bateman. The exact date of his death is not known, but it must have been some time in the summer or early autumn of 1351.

The great ecclesiastical statesman, Bateman, now stepped in, and, in the general opinion of those who have looked into the matter, whilst completing the work, proceeded in no small degree to thrust aside the memory and the wishes of the original founder. He at once drew up a new body of statutes, practically identical with those which he designed for his own College of Trinity Hall. In these he departed very considerably from the intentions of Gonville, for he directed that the main study of the Fellows should not be that of theology, but that of the canon and the civil law, the subjects by which he had himself gained his reputation and position. Moreover, he practically suppressed the name of the founder, for he directed that the College should be simply called that 'of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.' Here, however, popular usage would not be set aside, for, till the days of Dr. Caius, whatever might be the official designation,

the name by which it was currently known was that of Gunwell, or Gunnel, Hall.

In spite, however, of this deviation from Gonville's intention, Bateman really did much to start the College of his friend on its way. In fact, we may doubt whether, without his powerful support, it would have had strength to struggle into life. As already intimated, he drew up the elaborate code of statutes by which the community was governed for two centuries. He also changed the site of the College from the small piece of ground behind St. Botolph's Church to a position of greater convenience and ampler extent. This was effected by exchange with Corpus College, which had been founded in the meantime. It was a mutual advantage, for Corpus was thus enabled to consolidate its possessions, and Gonville Hall obtained a larger site to start with, and a possibility of expansion which it could not otherwise have enjoyed. This new site coincided almost exactly with that now occupied by the Gonville Court, the Hall, Library, and Master's Lodge, and the Master's garden. Bateman next provided an endowment. What provisions Gonville had made we do not know, but it is impossible to suppose, after his experience at Rushworth, that he had not contemplated, and even prepared, some permanent provision. Dr. Caius tells us that Gonville supported the Master and Fellows at his own cost during his life, and left considerable funds in the hands of Bateman. This may be so, but it seems probable that our earliest endowment was really secured by the agency of Bateman. He did this in a way common enough in those days, especially where the monasteries

were to be aggrandized. The tithes of three parishes,—those, namely, of Foulden and Wilton in Norfolk, and Mutford in Suffolk,—were assigned to the College, the latter undertaking to pay for the support of a priest in each parish. The right of presentation to each living was at the same time secured to the College. It is an interesting fact that this original endowment is enjoyed to the present day, the College being the patron of these three livings, and still receiving the rectorial tithes in the shape of a fixed rent-charge.

Bateman added to these benefits by several smaller gifts. He presented the Master and Fellows with several pieces of plate; with books for the commencement of a library; and with a number of costly vestments for religious service. The plate is all lost, so far as we know, and of the books it is doubtful if any are in our possession. As to the vestments, Dr. Caius assures us that they were still in use in his day on the occasion of the most solemn services; they probably perished during an outbreak of fanatical zeal which will be recorded in its place.

One other arrangement was made by the Bishop before his death. This was a 'Treaty of Amity' between the two foundations in which he was so closely interested, viz., Gonville Hall and Trinity Hall. This curious document is dated September 17, 1353. It is in the form of an agreement between the two colleges, followed by the formal sanction of the Bishop. The Fellows agree to live in amity, like brothers; to take counsel together in legal and other difficulties; to wear robes or cloaks of the same pattern; and to consort together at academic ceremonies. Such a treaty may

sound strange to modern ears, but was probably of real service to young and feeble corporations, in days when they were constantly having to appeal to King or Pope or Bishop to secure some privilege, or to escape from some attack. Bateman lived but a short time longer. He started for Avignon, the then Papal seat, in 1354, and on January 6, 1354-45, died there, and was buried with great pomp.

The College was now fairly started on its way. It ranked from the first as a small foundation, even amongst its then humble contemporaries,—Dr. Caius speaks pathetically, in after-days, of 'this poor house,'—and, though it gradually added to its buildings and acquired various endowments, it did not materially increase its area for two centuries. As already stated, this area was almost exactly coincident with that now occupied by the Gonville Court, the Hall, kitchen and Lodge, and the Master's garden. Trinity Lane and Trinity Hall Lane occupied exactly their present position, though under other names. The approach to the College was from the former lane, and nearly facing this was Michael House, one of the Halls afterwards absorbed into Trinity College. At the outset no attempt was made to erect any buildings. There were already two houses standing on the ground. These, which subsequently formed the north side of the court, were amply good enough for a commencement, and, in fact, continued in use till 1753. They must have been very substantial buildings, and from their date, and the fact of their being built of stone, we may conjecture that they somewhat resembled the well-known 'Pythagoras House,' the only contemporary domestic

building now left in Cambridge. Very slight alterations were needed to fit them for their new use.

Gonville had started his College with a very eminent man as its head, John Colton, or John of Terrington, as he is called from his birthplace. Shortly afterwards he, or Bateman, selected four Fellows. The numbers somewhat varied from time to time, probably according to fluctuations in income, but a Master and four Fellows were for many years considered the normal establishment.

John Colton, as stated, was a man of great mark in the Church. He had been a chaplain of Bishop Bateman, and, like him, seems to have been a great canonist, and endowed with high ambition. He ruled over the College for about ten years, namely, till 1360, but we have absolutely no record of his work in Cambridge. His principal career was in Ireland, where he held the offices of Lord Treasurer, Dean of St. Patrick's, and, in 1380, Chancellor of Ireland. In 1382 he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, an office which he held with much distinction till his death, April 27, 1404. Like Bateman, he was employed in diplomatic work at the Court of Rome.

He was followed in 1360 by William Rougham, a doctor of medicine, who held the mastership for thirty-three years. During his tenancy, and largely through his exertions, the first steps were taken towards the erection of those buildings which now form so essential a part of our conception of a college. This was done by the building of a chapel. Obvious as such a step now seems, the permission was only granted gradually as the result of several successive Papal and episcopal

licenses. The rights of the parish priest were carefully guarded, and when the chapel was built it was at first regarded as being only a private oratory. It was long before the Mass was permitted, and longer still before the dead could be buried elsewhere than in the parish church of St. Michael's.

The exact date of the chapel is not known, but it must have been completed before 1393, when Rougham died. As it was placed in its present site, opposite to the then existent buildings, it seems plain that the general design of the Gonville Court had already been decided on, though it was long before the two remaining sides were undertaken. The building, without the antechapel, was 68 feet long: some description of it will be found at the end of this volume.

Richard Pulham, the third Master, ruled from 1393 to 1412. One important addition was made to the College in his time, viz., that of Physwick Hostel. The hostels, it may be remarked, were of the nature of boarding-houses. They had, as a rule, no endowments, and, instead of being corporations under fixed statutes, were mostly short-lived and in private hands. The house which William Physwick, esquire bedell of the University, left to us in 1393 became somewhat of an exception. It was held by Gonville Hall as a sort of annexe, was under their control and management, and was employed as a lodging-house for students who could not be accommodated in their own building. It should be understood that in medieval times the Colleges were principally intended for the poor, and gave accommodation to very few besides those on the foundation, viz., the Fellows and scholars. Such wealthy

men as came into residence mostly lived in a hostel, as did, indeed, the greater portion of ordinary students. Physwick Hostel stood on the opposite side of the lane to Gonville Hall, on part of the site of the present great Court of Trinity. It belonged to our College till about 1546, when it was taken by Henry VIII. to form a part of his new and grand foundation. A sum of £3 was annually paid in return by the Crown; this our College still continues to receive from the Treasury.

Another small benefaction received at this time deserves notice as an illustration of early college customs. It was the foundation, by Thomas Aylward, Rector of Havant, and presumably a former student, of what was called a 'chest' or 'purse.' This consisted of a sum of money,—in Aylward's case of £10,—given in trust to the College to be lent to their poorer members. As there were no scholars in his day, and practically no ordinary students, the persons to be thus benefited would generally be Fellows, who must often have been in difficulties to find the money for their degrees, or even for the purchase of books. Dr. Caius tells us that the chest itself was surviving in his days, but that, owing to the negligence of former Masters, the contents had entirely disappeared. Donations of this kind were not uncommon in those days, and several are recorded in the Commemoration service of the University.

About this time Gonville Hall came into possession of another benefaction, that of the advowson of Mattishall in Norfolk, of which we are still the patrons. Natural as it now may seem that a college should enjoy such a right, the gift deserves notice, for it shows that these new lay corporations were beginning to take the

place, in the mind of the pious layman, of the ancient monastic foundations. Mattishall was conveyed by Sir Ralph Hemenhale, but, though granted by deed in 1370, the first vacancy did not occur until 1393. Another similar gift, that of the rectory of Capel in Suffolk, had been made still earlier, but owing to legal difficulties had soon been lost. In speaking of ecclesiastical patronage, it should be understood that the possession of this by a college stood on a different footing from that which it occupied till recently. From the seventeenth century onwards the Fellows in most colleges constituted a numerous body: they were mostly in Holy Orders, and were forbidden to marry. To them, therefore, the prospect of a living was very generally attractive. Moreover, it secured a vacancy in their body, and the chance of office to others. Hence the custom,—a custom, however, which was not enforced by statute till the University Commission of 1856,—that the College always presented one of their own body, whether well fitted for the duty or not. But in medieval times it was quite otherwise. In our own case, for instance, there were but four Fellows, and these were generally men, relatively speaking, of some mark, who looked for something more than a small country living. Moreover, it need not be said that the acceptance of a benefice did not then open the door to marriage. At any rate, it is a fact that a very small proportion of the priests whom the College presented to the livings in their patronage, in pre-Reformation times, were at the time Fellows.

William Somersham, fourth Master, held office for only four years, viz., from 1412 to 1416. He was

Rector of Hevingham, Norfolk, but seems to have resided in Cambridge. In his will, proved in 1416, he desires to be buried in 'the chapel of the Annunciation of the Virgin, of the church of St. Michael, Cambridge.' This confirms what is otherwise known, namely, that the College had not then obtained a license to bury their dead in their own chapel, but that an aisle of the parish church of St. Michael was set apart for this purpose.

John Rickinghale, fifth Master, was a man of somewhat more ecclesiastical note than his three predecessors. He held office from 1416 till he was appointed to a bishopric in 1426. He had not been a member of the College previously, as far as we know. Besides holding several livings in Norfolk and Suffolk, he was Archdeacon of Northumberland; Chancellor of York, 1410-26; and Dean of St. Mary's College, Norwich, 1405-26. He was also prominent in University affairs, having already held the office of Chancellor for a year at the time of his appointment to the mastership. He retained the Chancellorship for seven years,—a rather unusual thing at that time,—on account, we are told, of his services during the violent dispute then existing between the University and the town. Rickinghale was a strenuous supporter of the privileges of his own body.

He was, we may gather, a sturdy upholder of the authority of the Church, and a personal friend of that redoubtable warrior prelate, Henry de Spencer, Bishop of Norwich. He was one of the assessors of the Bishop in 1399, when William Chatris, or Sautre, renounced in the church of the Hospital of St. John at Lynn the

reformed opinions for which he was subsequently burnt. In his will Rickinghale leaves to the church of Thorpe Abbotts a vestment which had belonged to Spencer 'recolendæ memoriæ.'

He was consecrated Bishop of Chichester at Mortlake Church, Surrey, June 3, 1426. He only survived his elevation to this post three years, dying in the summer of 1429, and was buried in his cathedral.

Rickinghale resigned the mastership on becoming Bishop in 1426, and was succeeded by Thomas Atwood, the sixth Master. To Atwood,—or Wood, as he is sometimes called,—we owe a great deal, as it was during his time, and largely through his exertions, that the first distinctive College buildings were erected. Till now nothing but the chapel had been added to the two original houses acquired with the ground in 1354. Those houses had doubtless been modified, but apparently not added to. In them were lodged the Master and the four Fellows, as well as the two or three servitors, or poor students, who in colleges, as in monasteries, occupied an intermediate position between ordinary servants and members of the foundation. A room must have been set apart for dining purposes, and probably another as a library and treasury, but during the first hundred years no funds for further building were procurable.

An important addition was secured by Atwood's aid. He was not improbably a Norwich man, and had certainly several rich and powerful friends amongst the merchants and Aldermen of that city. Two of these at least are mentioned as helping him, viz., John Warwick and John Preston. By their combined efforts the old

houses were joined to the chapel by a row of buildings, thus constituting three sides of a court. These buildings contained a hall at the north end, coinciding approximately with the present tutor's house; a pair of rooms, upper and lower, where our combination-room and entrance porch now stand; a library; and, at the south end, a Master's Lodge. This last coincided almost exactly with the entrance passage, bedroom overhead, and staircase of the present Master's Lodge. We have described these positions somewhat carefully because it must be understood that the buildings erected in 1441-44 are still in great part existent. In their case, as in that of the chapel,—little as those who walk through the court may suppose it,—the ancient walls are still standing, though coated over with the ashlar placed on them in 1754. The tutor's house really is the old hall, which was divided up into sitting and bed rooms when the new hall was built in 1854; even the ancient beams of the roof are still to be seen in the attics. The combination-room has been more altered; but when the present bow-window was made in 1870, the original front, with its small windows, was disclosed under the stone facing. Similarly with the library, of which the old front is doubtless standing. The rooms over this library, probably intended for students' accommodation, are now divided into servants' bedrooms in the Master's Lodge, and the old roof-beams may still be seen there. Nearly all of the old Master's lodge has been converted, as already said, into an entrance porch and staircase; but the upper room over the passage between the Gonville and Caius Courts, where the Masters used to sleep, has been very little changed.

Small as some of these buildings were found to be in lapse of time, they were not small for their date. Indeed, they must have been designed by men who were very hopeful as to the future. The hall was actually in use till 1854, and must have been quite spacious for the small assembly that used first to meet in it. The library was perhaps intended to invite the gift of new books, by offering such more than ample accommodation for what was already in possession.

All these buildings had windows which, though small, were doubtless adorned with the arms of the donors, and with inscriptions recording their names. So, indeed, we are told by Dr. Caius, in whose time most of them were still surviving. Similarly with the hall, where the names seem still to have been displayed in his day. It is a sad pity that these memorials of the past, recalling as they did the student days of prelates and scholars who more than four centuries ago trod our courts and perused the volumes we still possess, should have been lost. Unfortunately, that callous indifference to the past which, when some alteration becomes necessary in a building, will rather throw away a window or a monument than take the trouble to preserve it in some new position, is no prerogative of the present day. The seventeenth century was a worse offender in this way than ours, and it was then that most of the destruction took place of what we should now so highly value. Of all the many windows which once adorned our buildings, there is not, it is believed,—with a single exception, to be hereafter mentioned,—a fragment now in existence.

Atwood died early in 1456, having apparently re-

signed the mastership two years before. He held at that time the living of Elsworth, near Cambridge. In his will he desires to be buried there, and that a fair marble monument should be erected in the chancel to the memory of himself and his mother.

Thomas Boleyn, seventh master (1454-1472), belonged to a family which was a typical specimen of a class which was now beginning to rise into great importance in English history. A young scion of decent stock, sprung from the country, goes to London; enters into trade there; acquires a fortune, and duly becomes Sheriff and Lord Mayor; purchases a mansion; founds a family; is knighted or ennobled; and marries into the ancient nobility. This was, briefly, the history of Jeffrey Boleyn, the brother of our Master. He, his son, and his grandson, all made such marriages: the marriage of his unfortunate great-grand-daughter Anne is a part of English history.

Thomas Boleyn himself seems to have been originally of Trinity Hall, of which College he was a Fellow at the time of his ordination as priest in 1421. He was initiated into public affairs whilst still a young man, for in 1434 he obtained letters of protection abroad, being about to accompany Edmund Beaufort, afterwards Duke of Somerset, to the Council of Basle. His subsequent advance in the Church, however, was not so rapid as this might suggest. He was Rector of Hackford, Norfolk, and a prebendary of Hereford and afterwards of Wells; and probably master of the college at Maidstone. He was evidently also a man of some note in the University, as he was one of those to whom was entrusted the framing of the

statutes of Queens' College. He died in 1471 or 1472.

Edmund Sheriffe, eighth Master, only presided for three years, namely, from 1472 to 1475. Short as his rule was, the College owes him not a little, for, in addition to leaving behind him the character of an able and honest ruler, he was the first before Dr. Caius' time to show an interest in the preservation of our records. He had transcripts made of many old deeds and other documents, the originals of some of which have since been lost. The volume is preserved in our library, under the name of 'Sheriffe's Evidences,' and was the source whence Dr. Caius obtained many of the early facts which he has recorded in his 'Annals.'

Henry Costessey, or Cossey, ninth Master (1475-1483), is of interest in connection with Gonville's two foundations at Rushworth and at Cambridge. He is the only personal connecting link between the two colleges, as he was elected to the former in 1472, and held both until his death. It has been sometimes supposed by those who did not understand the object of a secular foundation for priests, such as that at Rushworth, that Gonville must have been contemplating a sort of feeder for his Cambridge house. This is quite a mistake. The foundations were totally distinct, and that at Rushworth had no primary connection whatever with education or study. The duties of his priests there were those of parish work and religious exercises. With the exception of Costessey, we do not know that the two colleges ever had a single member in common.

Costessey, like Atwood, was well supported by some

of the Norwich citizens; the village from which he doubtless derived his name is but a few miles from the city. Three prominent merchants, at least, gave their aid, namely, John Droll, Richard Brown, and John Aubrey. We record their names, not only out of gratitude, but as illustration of how completely the colleges in Cambridge had by now won the confidence of leading citizens in what was then one of the first commercial towns in England. All three were prominent men. Droll and Aubrey were repeatedly Mayors of the city, and each was chosen as its burgess in Parliament; Brown was an Alderman, and afterwards Sheriff. Between them they contributed the large sum of about £360. By the deeds of gift it appears that the money was spent in rebuilding Physwick Hostel, enclosing the College with walls, making a stable and fuel house, and providing hangings and tapestry for the hall and the Master's chambers. Physwick Hostel was built in somewhat grand style, with a gateway and tower, and the building was used as a part of Trinity College, when it was appropriated in 1546 by Henry VIII. It was removed about 1585, when the present great court was built. As regards the College walls, most of those which were then built were standing till the middle of this century. One piece of them still survives unchanged. It is the lofty wall of the Master's garden, facing Trinity Hall, and deserves recognition as the solid work provided for us by those Norwich merchants 400 years ago.

About this time several important additions were made to the College, both in respect to the buildings and the endowments. The court, it will be remembered,

had still only three sides; and, as the buildings on the west side were all of a public kind, little or no addition had yet been made to the accommodation for students. The fourth side was due to the munificence of a wealthy lady,—Elizabeth, widow of Robert Clere, of Ormesby,—of whose good deeds Dr. Caius (no admirer of her sex in general) breaks into admiration, and calls her 'the nurse and almost the mother' of the College. This addition completed the court, the entrance to it being, of course, from the present Trinity Lane. In its general appearance it must have been somewhat similar to the present old court of Corpus.

The endowments were also added to about this time by the foundation of two fellowships, in addition to the original four provided by Gonville or Bateman. One of these was the gift of the above-mentioned lady, Elizabeth Clere; the other was provided by a parish priest, Stephen Smith, Rector of Blonorton, Norfolk.

A Papal Bull issued by Sixtus IV., 1481, deserves notice, as it helped to supply the College with what was, relatively speaking, a very important class of students, viz., that of young and promising monks from the greater monasteries. We shall recur to this subject again presently, as its importance in college and University history in the years before the Reformation is often overlooked. It will suffice to say here that the Pope now expressly granted permission to the monks of the great Benedictine Priory of Norwich to study at Gonville Hall and Trinity Hall, a permission of which, as our books show, they soon began to avail themselves.

John Barly, tenth Master (1483-1504), was closely connected with Norwich, a connection which, as in the

case of his predecessor, proved advantageous to the College. He held successively the livings of Barningham Winter, Mattishall (in the gift of the College), and Winterton, before his election to the mastership. During the last two or three years of his life he seems to have resided in Norwich, where he was Rector of St. Michael's Coslany, the advowson of which had not long before come into possession of the College. He was a friend of Robert Thorpe, one of the great merchants of Norwich, and well known as the builder of the beautiful Lady Chapel of St. Michael's. Thorpe founded a chantry in this chapel, the patronage of which he left to our College; but, like other such endowments, this was swept away at the Reformation. Whether at his own cost, or aided by his rich friends, Barly found a considerable sum for completing the walls with which the College was enclosed.

Two events deserve notice during this period. One of these was the foundation of our first scholarship in the modern sense of that term. This demands a little explanation. It must be remembered that in very early times there was no distinction drawn between 'Fellows and 'scholars.' The Fellows were often chosen when very young. They had no undergraduates to look after; and their stipends were given to support them whilst studying for the higher degrees. The only persons in college who were under them were the few servants, most of whom would now be described as sizar students. As time went on, and a class of what might now be called 'undergraduates' made its appearance, the position of the Fellows assumed somewhat more of authority, and scholarships began to be established.

The scholars were at first very commonly called 'Bible-clerks,'—a name which still survives in Oxford,—from its being one of their duties to read the Latin Bible during meal-time, according to the immemorial custom of the monasteries. These were in every sense what would be now called 'scholars'; for they were on the foundation, were seldom at the time graduates, and received their stipends to support them during their time of study. The first of such scholarships in our College was founded in 1501 by Thomas Willows, a citizen and glover of Cambridge, two others following almost immediately afterwards.

The other event was the obtaining of two Papal Bulls. So marked was this favour, that a subsequent Fellow of the College, Richard Parker, writing in the days of James I., held that our College had been a special favourite of the Popes—presumably in remembrance of the services of Bishop Bateman. It may have been so, but it is more likely that the favours were due to the active interest of a Fellow of the College, Thomas Cabold by name, who was at this time at Rome in the service of Alexander VI., holding the important office of penitentiary. One of these Bulls certainly conferred a special privilege on Gonville Hall. It is well known that the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford enjoyed the Papal permission to send out annually twelve preachers into any diocese, irrespective of the Bishop's license. What the Pope now did was to give the same permission to our College to send out two such preachers. I cannot find that any similar favour was granted elsewhere. Another Bull, dated May 16, 1500, granted permission to the students

dwelling in Physwick Hostel to attend our chapel, instead of being obliged to attend the service at their parish church of St. Michael. It also permitted burials in the College chapel.

Barly died towards the beginning of the year 1505, and was succeeded by Edmund Stubbe, who held the office till 1513. He belonged to a good family, that of the Stubbes of Scottow, whose pedigree and arms are recorded in the Heralds' Visitation of the county. It seems likely that he resided mostly in Norwich, where, like his predecessor, he held the College living of St. Michael Coslany. In his will he desires to be buried in that church, to which he left a small endowment.

The stream of endowment was still flowing in, steadily if not rapidly. One benefaction deserves notice here, partly on account of the donor, partly because the names in question are so familiar in modern Cambridge. This was the gift of the Manor of Newnham, by Lady Anne Scroop. Lady Scroop may be called the last of the Gonvilles, her mother Jane being the daughter and sole heiress of the great-grandson of Sir Nicholas, Edmund's brother. She was herself a great heiress, and was the widow, through her third marriage, of Lord Scroop of Bolton. She gave the Manor of Newnham, part of the ground belonging to which is occupied by the present Scroop Terrace. As everyone knows, the rights and customs connected with mills are often of great complexity and immemorial antiquity. There are two mills, on opposite sides of Sheep's Green, the 'King's Mill' by Queens' College, and the one in question. The former was the older one, and had first right to the use of the water from the river.

The rule under which the College held their mill was as follows:

'That before the said mill of Newenham beginneth to grind or go, the bailiff of the King's Mill . . . hath blown his horn to warn the miller for the time being of the said mill of Newenham. And before that, the said mill not to grind . . . and to surcease of grinding after and upon blowing of the said horn.'

William Buckenham, twelfth Master (1513-1536), seems to have been an active and efficient administrator; but he is best remembered by his work in the University. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1508 and 1509, and whilst holding that office compiled a list of charters and deeds affecting the interests of the University. He was also employed as an arbitrator between the University and the Priory of Barnwell. In later years he retired to the rectory of St. Michael Coslany in Norwich, where he resigned the mastership, June 12, 1536. He continued to live there for some years, and died June 18, 1540.

Dr. Caius has recorded a curious incident which occurred during this period, namely, about 1521. As he entered college only eight years afterwards, the event must have been within the memory and experience of many whom he knew. The reader has probably heard of the bitterness and rivalry which often existed in those days between the students who came from the North and from the South of England. It was in order to check this, and to prevent either party acquiring too completely the upper hand, that regulations were sometimes made prohibiting more than a certain proportion of the fellows being selected from either division, the

boundary line between the two being the river Trent. The story that Caius records is that the students of Gerard's Hostel, who mostly belonged to the Northern faction, made a determined assault upon Gonville Hall, which was almost entirely Southern. Gerard's Hostel—the name still survives in Garrett Hostel Lane—stood exactly opposite the small back-gate of our College, on part of the ground where Bishop's Hostel, in Trinity, now stands. With the laudable wish, perhaps, not to let his students incur risks which he was not prepared to run himself, William Tayte, the Master or Principal of Garrett's Hostel, headed the assault. They burnt the gate and proceeded to sack the College, poured out all the liquor they could find in the buttery, and but for the promptitude of the butler, who hid the silver in the well, would have appropriated this. Tayte in after-days became a Canon of Windsor. Perhaps this migration southwards gave his sympathies a similar shift; at any rate, Caius assures us that in after-life he showed his penitence for the wrong he had done us by leaving many books to our library.

One bequest made at this time deserves record. Feudal tenures and forms were not yet so entirely extinct as to make cash payments universal, but nevertheless one legacy of a country squire in 1513 is, we think, exceptional. John Lestrange of Massingham left by will 'seven hundred ewes going at East Lexham, and three hundred lambs . . . to be delivered to the Master and fellows at midsummer.' The College, in return, bound itself, under its common seal, to pray for the soul of John Lestrange himself, 'his wife, his father and mother, his both brothers, his father-in-law, and

for the souls of all his benefactors and all good Christian souls.' This kind of reciprocity is a common feature in most of the charitable foundations of the Middle Ages.

As the period roughly indicated as the medieval is here drawing to a close, it may be convenient to gather up the materials as well as we can, even at the risk of repetition, in order to form some conception of the character, material and social, of the College at the stage we have now reached. Gonville Hall ranked as a small college even in those days, when Trinity was yet to be founded, and St. John's was only at the commencement of its career. It consisted of a single court. On the north side were the two old stone buildings, dating probably from Norman days. To the east was the comparatively new row of chambers built by Elizabeth Clere. To the west were the hall and library. On the south was the chapel. The ancient houses were of stone, the rest of the buildings probably of brick and clunch, or, it may be, faced with plaster. Though built without the slightest pretence to grandeur, or even beauty, the size of the buildings was ample for the demands then made on them. The chapel and the hall could not have been more than a quarter filled; the library had accommodation for tenfold its then contents. The total number of residents in the College was probably about thirty. They consisted of the Master and seven or eight fellows, of whom most would be clergy, of two or three scholars, three or four servants, themselves mostly poor students, and from twelve to twenty occasional residents termed 'pensioners,' who will be described presently. These were

crowded, as we should now consider it, into ten or twelve chambers, each 'chamber,' it must be remembered, consisting only of a single room in which the occupants both lived and slept. Several, of course, dwelt in the same room; somewhat later, in Elizabethan times, the rule was made that *not more* than four students should be accommodated in the room with their tutor. This was when the numbers were somewhat swollen; early in the sixteenth century the pressure, probably, was not so great.

The only regular entrance passage to the College was from Trinity Lane, then called St. Michael's Lane. Facing it, to the north, were Michael House and Physwick's Hostel, separated by the lane, which was always in a filthy condition, and sometimes so bad that, as in the days of Richard II., the King himself was appealed to in order to check the 'horror abominabilis' with which students were struck on their way to the schools. Facing the west side were Gerard's Hostel and Trinity Hall. The present Tree Court was occupied with houses and small gardens, separated from the College by a high wall. One of these houses had been the rectory of St. Michael's, and was now (1520-30) the residence of John Siberch, the University printer, known as the friend and publisher of Erasmus. To the south, where the Senate House stands, was then a mass of town houses which covered all the now open space opposite St. Mary's. The present Senate House passage only extended from Trinity Hall as far as where our Gate of Honour now stands. Here it turned off to the right, and led, amongst the houses, to the public schools, which had already long been built. At

the point where it stopped and thus turned off was St. Mary's Hostel, with a small garden. This is worth noticing, because it explains the appearance of bricked-up arches on the south side of our College wall facing the passage. These do not indicate former openings, as sometimes supposed, but mark the recesses for seats in the hostel garden on the sunny side of the wall. The rest of the present Senate House passage was crowded up with small town houses. This crowded condition deserves notice as bearing on the sanitary state of the University at the time, and on the precautions which had to be adopted by a College during the frequent invasions of the plague into the town.

Turning to the social aspect of the College, what should we find if we could revisit, say, the hall? We may picture a plain brick or stone building, with an open timber roof, and the walls covered probably by the tapestry due to the liberality of the Aldermen of Norwich mentioned above. Dinner is about ten or eleven, supper about five. Whether it be winter or summer, no fire will be found. Even the charcoal brazier which is so gratefully recorded as the gift of a Dr. Busbey was not to be received yet. The dinner itself was very simple, and everyone in residence was bound to attend. In the monasteries, as is well known, wide hospitality was practised, and the Abbot would often be presiding at some sumptuous entertainment for noble or wealthy visitors. But the colleges were humble corporations, quite unable to practise promiscuous hospitality, and, indeed, discouraged from admitting any but their regular members. There was

probably only one table, at which all sat in order of precedence, waited on by a few sizars, as they would now be called, whilst the Bible-clerk duly read the Latin Scriptures. Whatever conversation they indulged in would, if custom and rule were not infringed, be in Latin.

As a rule, the names of residents other than those on the foundation are not recorded in any college till long after this date. But, as it happens in our case, this information is given in the bursars' books for some twenty years, and it enables us to complete the picture in an unexpectedly complete way. Take, for instance, the year 1513 as an example. We know exactly who constituted our community. There were at that time the Master, six fellows, three scholars, and the customary sizar servants. But besides there were fifteen 'pensioners,' as they are termed—that is, persons not on the foundation, but who paid for their board and lodging. Similar information is given for several years both before and after this, and, so far as I know, is not obtainable in respect of any other college in the University.

Their names and professions are worth looking into. The first name is a very prominent one, that of Humphrey De la Pole, of the great ducal house of Suffolk. He was an ecclesiastic, and a prebendary of St. Paul's, and also held a living, but he resided in our College for several years, and left behind him, besides other memorials, a book still in our library. He belongs professionally to a class which was becoming not uncommon in college, viz., that of the beneficed clergy, who obtained permission of their Bishop to

leave their parish for a time for the purpose of study. Doubtless they found the life a pleasant contrast with the dulness of a country living, and before many years measures had to be taken to check the too frequent enjoyment of this privilege. Another name which occurs, not exactly in this year, but shortly after, is that of Thomas Gresham, the great merchant and well-known founder of the Royal Exchange. The type to which he belongs, namely, that of the wealthy lay 'fellow-commoner,' as he would now be called, is one which was only just beginning to make its appearance. In Elizabethan times, of course, it became common enough, but hitherto men of this stamp had mostly gone to the hostels.

After allowing for two or three such as Pole and Gresham, almost the whole of the rest of the extraneous community consisted of monks. This is a fact which must be emphasized, not only as throwing light on the training of the monks themselves, but as showing that, though the ideals of the monastery and the College were totally distinct, the sudden suppression of the former must have caused a very serious wrench in University life. These monks, it must be remembered, were all picked men, selected on account of their promise. As the author of a well-known account of Durham Priory* says of those on his own foundation, 'If the Master did see that any of them (the novices) were apt to learning, and did apply his book, and had a pregnant wit withal, then the Master did let the Prior

* Commonly known as 'The Rites of Durham,' published by the Camden Society, 1842. The account was written in late life by a former monk.

have intelligence. Then straightway after he was sent to Oxford, and there did study Divinity.' Cambridge was naturally supplied in this way from the Eastern and Southern monasteries, principally from the great Benedictine and Cistercian houses of Norwich, Lewes, and Bury, and from that of the Augustinian Canons at Westacre in Norfolk. One monastery, that of Butley in Suffolk, had a special arrangement with Gonville Hall for the reservation of a convenient room (*honesta camera*) for their men. As has been said, these students were picked men, and evidently held no light opinion of their claims. In the Visitation of the monasteries by the Bishop of Norwich (published by the Camden Society, 1889) there are many amusing indications of this, and of the airs they were apt sometimes to give themselves on their return to their brethren. They came to College, of course, for professional purposes. They studied, and mostly graduated in, theology and the canon and civil law, and a mere glance at the after-career of such as we can succeed in tracing shows what an advantage their training gave them. They probably soon obtained the post of teaching the novices in their own house; but their attainments would quickly open out to them opportunities for carrying on negotiations abroad, and secure for them high offices in their own houses. In our own College alone, of the few who can be identified in after-life, some ten or more are subsequently found as Priors or Sub-priors of their own or of connected monasteries. One of those in residence in 1513 was William Repps, a Benedictine from Norwich. He was afterwards Bishop of that see. Another, about the same time, was William

Steward, the last Prior of Ely and the first Dean after the suppression.

Some of these visitors have left traces behind them. There are, for instance, a number of MS. books in our library which can be identified, by their binding or other marks, as coming from Bury Monastery. It is not at all unlikely that they were left behind by students from that house. John Household, a Cluniac from Castleacre in Norfolk, and a student in 1513, evidently retained to his death a grateful memory of the years he had spent within our walls. In his will (1543) he leaves

'to the college in Cambrydge called Gunvyle Hall, my longer table clothe, my two awter [altar] pillows, with their bears of black satten bordered with velvet pirled with goulde: also a frontelet with the salutation of our Lady curely wroughte with goulde; and besides two suts of vestements having every thinge belonging to the adorning of a preste to say masse: the one is a light greene having white ends, and the other a duned Taphada' [? downed Taffeta].

He also leaves his books,

'protesting that whatsoever be founde in my books I intende to dye a veray Catholical Christen man, and the king's letheman and trewe subjecte.'

The reference to the Salutation is appropriate, considering the dedication of the College. The peculiar allusion to his books suggests that he may have picked up some of the liberal views of which the College was quickly becoming a hotbed.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION TURMOIL: 1530-1558.

'There is a collage in Cambridge called Gunwel Haule, of the foundation of a Bishop of Norwich. I hear no clerk that hath comen ought lately of that collage but saverith of the frying panne, tho he spek never so holely.'—*Bishop Nix of Norwich to Archbishop Warham*, 1530.

WHAT may be, broadly speaking, called the Reformation period is one which stands out very clearly in University and college history, both in respect of the conditions prevailing at the time, and of the striking contrast between the life before and after the change. Deeply as the events of that time affected England generally, they produced a far more vital alteration in the little world of college. Not only were religious opinions changed, but the studies were altered at the same time. Similarly with the personal element. The monks, who formed such a relatively important constituent, disappeared at a stroke, and it was some time before any new body of students appeared to take their place. The social transformation of the country about this time had also an enormous indirect effect. Before the days of Henry VIII. the sons of the country gentry,

of the tradesmen, and the yeomen—the classes which, or the modern equivalents of which, now fill our buildings—are scarcely to be found in our colleges. From the days of Elizabeth they begin to appear in ever-increasing numbers until the climax of University popularity was attained shortly before the Civil Wars. Add to this that the new period corresponds in our own case to the revival of the College under an altered name, with its area and revenue more than doubled, and it will be admitted that there is ample reason for marking a division in our history. The change in itself was a very sudden one. It took place during the academic life of Dr. Caius, and seems to have struck him with profound astonishment, and almost with dismay. He left before the old régime was quite over; he returned in a few years, and declares that he found everything new. The men whom he had known were no longer to be seen in the place; the old studies had been abandoned; the very pronunciation of Latin was changed; even the manners and bearing of the students, their dress, their pursuits, their tastes, were no longer what they had been. Probably there is not much exaggeration in this judgment.

The masters under whom this transformation was carried out were not in themselves men of much mark. The first of them—John Skipp, thirteenth Master (1536-1540)—was decidedly the most prominent of the three, and his personal opinions had probably some weight in giving the dominant tone to the religious character of the College at the time. Like most of his predecessors, he held several pieces of preferment. He was Vicar of Thaxted, Essex, 1534-39; Canon of St.

Stephen's, Westminster; Archdeacon of Suffolk, 1536-40; Rector of Stoke Newington, 1538; and Archdeacon of Dorset, 1538-39.

Not unnaturally, under these circumstances, his active life was spent away from Cambridge, where, indeed, he seems to have resided but little. In his earlier college days he had been a member of the reforming party then so distinctive of our University. Dr. Caius, who of course knew him well, speaks of him as 'doctissimus et ingeniosissimus vir,' and it is evident that he had a great reputation as a preacher in London and elsewhere. He was for some time chaplain, and afterwards almoner, to Anne Boleyn, in which station he did much good work by recommending poor students to her charity, and in helping forward men of learning. Amongst these latter was Matthew Parker, the subsequent Archbishop. During the imprisonment of the Queen he was constant in his attendance on her. Cromwell is informed, in a letter dated May 19, 1536 (the day of her execution), 'Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight.'

In after-life, like some others of his contemporaries, he deserted the opinions of his youth, and, becoming a decided supporter of the Romish Church, soon gained advancement. He was one of the Cambridge men to whom Wolsey offered a fellowship at his new foundation of Cardinal College: this he declined. On the very eve of the surrender of the monasteries, he was made Prior of Wigmore in Herefordshire. In 1535 he was appointed to the titular bishopric of Pavada, near Constantinople, and November 23, 1539, was conse-

crated Bishop of Hereford. In June following he resigned the mastership of the College. His episcopate lasted twelve years, covering the last years of Henry VIII., and almost the whole time of Edward VI.; but he was seemingly a timid or dexterous man, and succeeded in passing his life almost entirely without incident. As a man of learning, he revised the Epistle to the Hebrews for the Bible of 1540, and is said to have had a hand in preparing the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. He died at his London residence, March 28, 1552, and was buried at St. Mary Mounthalt, his parish church.

The College was gradually adding to its endowments at this time. Far the most important addition of this kind, as significant of changing institutions in the way of teaching and of study, was the foundation of our first lectureships. It cannot be too clearly stated that the early colleges had no direct connection whatever with education. Of course they provided opportunities for study by affording access to books, and securing peaceful seclusion in times of turbulence, but they did not undertake to teach. Our first statutes give no hint at such a college office as that of a lecturer. The teaching was entirely carried out by the University, and on a very democratic system, for every youthful graduate was not only allowed, but actually obliged, to take part in it. This ancient system was now failing, and its decay is marked by the necessity of appointing set teachers. The Regius Professorships in the University date from this time, and corresponding provisions were made in the colleges. In our case two lectureships were established, which remained techni-

cally unaltered till lately; in fact, one of them may be said to survive still. The first was due to the initiative of the King. When Henry cast off the Pope's authority, he took to himself the 'firstfruits' of the livings which had previously been paid to the Pope. For a very short time the same claim was made on College fellowships, but this was soon remitted, and in 1535 each College was directed to establish two lectures, one in Greek and one in Latin. Our Greek Lecturer, as he used to be termed till the abolition of the office in 1859, dated from this injunction. As regards the Latin lectureship, which was similarly prescribed, it was only not founded because a private benefactor had just about the same time made provision for an office which was considered to fulfil the requirement. This benefactor was Geoffrey Knight, Rector of Stiffkey, Norfolk. He had already provided two preacherships at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, under the patronage of the College. He now added a lectureship. The deed of appointment is dated October 20, 1538 (by his executrix, Dame Katherine Heydon), the College undertaking, in return for his bequest,

'for the furtherance and maintenance of learning, to provide one of their fellowship and company, being honest and well learned, to read one lecture of humanity, logic, or philosophy, either in the Latin tongue or Greek tongue, such as shall be thought most profitable and expedient for the good education of youth: to be read openly in the hall of the said College at the leastwise four days in the week, in term.'

It may be added that this office exists, with unbroken

continuity, at the present day. The old teaching duties have been dropped, but it is Geoffrey Knight's lecturer who still, under the title of Prælector Rhetoricus, presents students to the Vice-Chancellor for their degrees.

It is to the earlier part of this period that the saying of Bishop Nix,—he had himself, it will be remembered, been a student here,—applies, 'that no clerk came from the College but savoured of the frying-pan, spake he never so holily.' The fact is that Gonville Hall was for some years known as a hotbed of reformed opinions. It is indeed true that no actual martyr can be found amongst our students—at least not yet, and not in this cause. We cannot rival Pembroke or Clare in the honour of claiming a Ridley or a Latimer. But in the second rank, of those who were active in their support of the reformed doctrines, and who suffered imprisonment, or even torture, in defence of their faith, the list of names which can be recovered is no short one. Foremost amongst these, in point of celebrity, was Nicholas Shaxton, fellow from 1510 to 1534, when he resigned on his appointment to the bishopric of Salisbury. In his younger days he was imprisoned more than once, and, on the charge of denying the Real Presence, was condemned to the stake. He recanted, however, and had to prove his sincerity by preaching the sermon at the martyrdom of Anne Askew and her companions in 1546. He returned to our College towards the close of his life, and is buried in the chapel. Two other prominent sympathizers with Shaxton were John Skipp, the Master, and Edward Crome, fellow. The latter was an intimate

friend of the martyrs, Latimer and Bilney, and repeatedly underwent imprisonment on charges of heresy. Three pensioners—Sygar Nicholson, Simon Smith, and Thomas Patmore—were also all sufferers. Nicholson was University printer, and, according to Foxe, suffered not only imprisonment, but actual torture. Smith was Patmore's curate at his rectory of Much Hadham, Herts. They belonged to the class of country parsons who, as already mentioned, used to obtain permission to reside in college for purposes of study, where, in this case, they seem to have caught the prevalent infection. Patmore was deprived; he was reported to have said when at Cambridge, 'that he did not set a bottle of hay by the Pope's or Bishop's curse.' His curate fared worse, for he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, nominally on account of his marriage. All these are mentioned in a letter of Latimer: 'Do you not hold Nicholson, Smyth, Patmore . . . with many others in prison at this hour?' William Warner, a fellow, was a close friend of Bilney, the Norwich martyr, whom he visited to comfort at his death. 'Bilney went accompanied by one Dr. Warner, whom he did choose as his old acquaintance, and parted with the words, "Farewell, good master Doctor, and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping' (Foxe). Several other similar indications of the prevalent state of feeling can be found. Peter de Vale, or Valentius, was a pensioner for several years. He distinguished himself in 1517 by a bold attack on the Proclamation of Indulgences, fixing, after the fashion of Luther, a hostile notice on the gate of the public schools. In 1555 he

visited the martyrs Wolsey and Pigot in prison, bidding them 'stand to the truth of the Gospel and Word. . . . I know not myself how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are.' Thomas Ocley, a fellow, would probably have become known like the others; but he died young, leaving his goods to Ridley and others, 'to dispose as they do know, and shall by searching of Scripture, according to the will of God, decide.'

All these names, which further research would probably add to, are taken from a very small body of men, for the monkish residents of course belong to the opposite party. It is a curious fact, however, that the two hostile parties existed side by side during some ten or fifteen years before the suppression of the monasteries: for the general tone and notorious character of the College did not apparently deter the monks from resorting thither. The conversation at our table must have sometimes become rather lively in those days, and one is tempted to speculate whether Patmore's defiance mentioned above may not have been hurled across the board at William Repps.

John Styrmin, fourteenth Master, ruled for twelve years (1540-1552). Like his predecessor, and perhaps through his influence, he held preferment in Hereford, being Archdeacon of the city and Prebendary of the cathedral. Of his career nothing is known, and his life in College is an absolute blank. From the date of his will, we conclude that he died in the early summer of 1552.

Thomas Bacon, who succeeded him as fifteenth Master (1552-1558), was no improvement. Indeed, according to

Caius, he was worse than negligent, for he not only died deeply in debt, but fraudulently disposed of his property to his brother Nicholas, a merchant in London. He seems to have belonged to one of the many families of the name of Bacon in Suffolk, though his relationship to the best known of these branches has not been determined. He occupied many and various pieces of preferment, and probably did not live much in College. He held for different periods the livings of Hockwold, Norfolk; of Barrow and Hoxne, Suffolk; and of Chelsfield, Kent—this latter until his death. He was also chaplain to Henry VIII., and Canon of Ely. As he remained undisturbed in the mastership during the reign of Mary, we may conclude that his sympathies, or his professions, were on the side of the Roman Catholic doctrines. The one fact that we know about him, in respect of the University history of the time, is in connection with the disgraceful incident of the exhuming and burning (as heretics) of the bodies of two reformers who had died some years before. It is thus referred to in the Diary of Mere, an esquire bedell: 'The Vice-Chancellor (and others) dyned with Mr. Bakon at Gonville Hall, and after dyner sealed the instrument of Bucer and Fagius condempnation, and bare it to the Vysytors'—namely, to the Commissioners sent down by Queen Mary. This was in 1557. Bacon died at his country vicarage of Chelsfield on January 1, 1558-9, and was buried there.

Cambridge in general, and our College in particular, were now in a deplorable condition. It would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the depletion of the University—and this applies to Oxford also—with-

out giving statistics; but one simple fact may be stated: the total number of Bachelor degrees conferred in the University in 1544 was only *eighteen*. Forty years earlier it had frequently risen to fifty and sixty. The religious and political condition of affairs was amply sufficient to account for such a fall as this. By the suppression of the monasteries the supply of monk-students was at once cut off, and there was nothing to take their place in the way of organized means of support for poor students. Scholarships and sizarships were still very few in number, and more than one eloquent preacher of the day has bitterly deplored the total lack of those charitable means of support which might have fitted poor men for work in the Church. And what was the prospect for those who did take Orders? None could tell what sudden change might next take place in creed or practice. A reference to any episcopal Act Book will show how extremely few were the graduates who presented themselves for ordination. Moreover, the colleges themselves were in a perilous condition just now. The greed of the courtiers had been far from satisfied by the spoil even of the monasteries, and plenty of those about the King were now eager for their share in the plunder of the colleges. In fact, a Commission of inquiry was sent down by Henry VIII. in 1545; and it seems that nothing but an unaccountable access of justice and fairness on the part of the King frustrated the designs of the plunderers. It was after reading the report of this Commission that the King remarked that 'he thought he had not in his realme so many persons so honestly mayntayned in lyving by so little land and rent.'

It may well be that this dismal outlook served to depress the energy and blunt the conscience of those in charge of college endowments. Caius has left a vivid picture of the state of things which he found on his return in 1557. He declares that ruin stared them in the face. None of the few residents knew anything of the College business or property; many of the deeds were lost, others were lying about in the fellows' rooms; the very chapel utensils had been turned to private use, and vestments for service were used as bed-coverings. When he left there was £600 in the treasury; at his return he found but £4 or £5. He had to proceed at law against Bacon's executors, and against some of the fellows, to recover what was owing to the College. So with the buildings: the courts were filthy, the gates in decay. There is a significant note by him on the first page of Sheriffe's volume of 'Evidences' in our library: 'Johannes Caius hunc librum, vetustate dissolutum et neglectum, colligari fecit cura sua atque refici, in vetustatis memoriam et futuri temporis exemplum.' We need not confine the application of this statement to a book; it applies equally to the entire College.

CHAPTER III

JOHN CAIUS

'Why should I think, O lerned Cay, that thou art clearly lost?
Syth that thy death excells our life, with stormy tempests tost?

Thou, following the course which God and fortune did thee send,
In buildings great for sacred Muse thy life and wealth didst spend:
And with thy learned books the world adorned thou hast,
That fame thou wanst, as virtue's meed, before thy life was past.'

Contemporary Memorial Sheet.

In the year 1529, on September 12, a very small and studious youth made his appearance in Gonville Hall. He is found in our contemporary records under many variations of name; of the ten forms which have been noticed, perhaps that of John Kees was the most familiar at first. But once in college, Latin had to be used, and he soon became known in Cambridge and in the world outside as Caius.* He is almost as hard to

* It was only the spelling that was altered; that is, the familiar pronunciation, 'Keys,' is not, as often supposed, a peculiar rendering of the Latin name *Caius*, but the retention unaltered of the sound by which he had always been known when alluded to in English.

fit into human relationships as Melchizedec. We know that he was born in Norwich, October 6, 1510, and that his father's name was Robert and his mother's Alice (Wodanell). So much he tells us himself. All else that we know of his connections is that he had a sister, married name unknown, who died in great poverty shortly before his own death. There is also strong reason to believe that, though born in Norwich, he was of Yorkshire extraction. But his long and minute will does not contain a hint at any human relationship.

He was from the first a hard student; was soon elected to one of the four scholarships then in existence at Gonville Hall, and graduated in 1533 as B.A. It would be an anachronism to call him Senior Wrangler of his year; but his name certainly stands first in that MS. list which in after-years gradually developed into the famous Mathematical Tripos, and there can be little doubt that the assignment of such a place already denoted considerable distinction in the studies and exercises then demanded. He was elected to a fellowship December 6, 1533. He tells us that his main interest, when a student, lay in the direction of theology; not improbably he had looked forward to the priesthood, and was diverted to medicine by his want of sympathy with the new doctrines then so strongly characteristic of the College. He remained, so far as we know, a Roman Catholic, but a somewhat liberal one, till his death. He was a diligent student from the first in Greek and Hebrew,—Erasmus, it must be remembered, had been recently reviving the study of Greek in Cambridge,—and employed himself

in translating Chrysostom and other Fathers. In our library is a Hebrew Testament with some notes at the beginning, written by him, in which he says: 'Caius, juvenis adhuc, et Hebraicæ linguæ studiosus, Cantabrigiæ scripsit.'

But he seems to have made up his mind before long that the career to which he was most fitted was that of medicine, and in 1539 he started for Padua to pursue his studies there. That University was already illustrious in science, and long continued so, as the remarkable roll of foreign students clearly shows. The great anatomist Vesalius was then one of the professors, and with him young Caius soon formed acquaintance, being for some months his fellow-lodger in the town. Another teacher whom he highly praises was J. B. Montanus. He graduated as M.D. May 13, 1541: it is an illustration of his care in the preservation of records that he has left us his diploma for this degree, which is now in our treasury. About the same time he was appointed a Professor at Padua—a rare thing for a foreigner, and perhaps unique for an Englishman. His professional subject has sometimes been called Greek, but this is hardly correct. What he did was to lecture on the philosophy and logic of Aristotle in the original language.

In July, 1543, he left Padua, and, after a short time of study at Florence and at Pisa, proceeded to make a tour through Italy. At every place which he visited he diligently searched the libraries, being always on the look-out for ancient MSS., especially those of Galen and Hippocrates. He made a large collection of these, most of which he bequeathed to our College. He re-

turned to England about 1545 by way of Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. Wherever he went he seems to have been cordially received in learned circles; one of the most intimate friendships of his life was that of Conrad Gesner, the celebrated naturalist, of Basle, whose acquaintance he made on this occasion.

On returning to England he devoted himself to medical practice. His whole professional life, so far as we know, was spent in London, with occasional visits to important patients in the country. There are traditions of his having practised at Norwich and at Cambridge, but these reports are quite unsupported. It is true that he was for some time at Shrewsbury during a terrible outbreak of the sweating sickness, but the terms he uses as to his presence there suggest a visit rather than a residence in the town. In London his principal sphere of activity was in connection with the College of Physicians. To the interests of this society he was heartily devoted; he vigorously supported their privileges against the Barber-surgeons, and in many ways aided them with his advice and with various gifts. He was chosen President in 1555, and on eight subsequent occasions.

Though in some respects old-fashioned in his views, and filled with the profoundest reverence for whatever Galen and Hippocrates had taught, he had evidently learnt much from Vesalius. Though his name is not identified with any discovery, he made one great contribution to the cause of scientific progress. This was by his lectures and demonstrations in anatomy at the hall of the Barber-surgeons, which he seems to have commenced soon after his return from Italy. These

lectures are thus referred to by a contemporary (Dr. Bulleyn): 'Whereas through the learned lectures and the secret anathomies by and through the learned doctor, M. John Kaius, reveiling . . . the hidden jewels and precious treasures of Galenus, showing himself to be a second Linacre.' The lines on his portrait in our hall—'Qui lucem dedit et solatia magna chirurgis, ut scirent partes Anatomia tuas'—doubtless refer to these lectures.

During these years he lived in St. Bartholomew's-the-Less,—the whole parish has now been absorbed into the Hospital,—in a house which he retained until his death. We get a queer glimpse into his recluse habits in a letter from Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, to Caius' great friend Gesner. At Gesner's instigation Parkhurst had endeavoured to pay him a visit, with the following result:

'As soon as I came to London I sought out your friend Caius, that I might give him your letter, and as he was from home I delivered it to his maid-servant, for he has no wife nor ever had one. Not a week passes in which I do not go to his house two or three times. I knock at the door; a girl answers the knock, but without opening the door. Peeping through a crevice, she asks me what I want. I ask in reply, Where is her master? Whether he is ever at home, or means to be? She always denies him to be in the house. He seems to be everywhere and nowhere, and is now abroad, so that I do not know what to write about him.'

It must have been during his years of busy activity in London that he formed the design of enlarging what he pathetically describes as 'that pore house now called

Gonville Halle.' We have several letters from him on the subject, written to Mr. Bacon, the Master of the College, in June, 1557. It is curious that at first he gives no hint that it was he who was to be the benefactor. He speaks mysteriously of a friend who is prepared largely to endow the old foundation. Of course the truth soon came out, but the fellows at the time, and particularly the Master, seem to have been so selfish or sluggish as to make but a slight response to his proposals. When he came to apply to the Queen (Mary) for a license and charter, he made a rather serious discovery. It turned out that the College had never been legally incorporated, and that, therefore, not being able to sue or be sued, all their corporate acts, from the days of Bateman, were in strict law invalid. This difficulty, however, was surmounted in time, and on September 4, 1557, he duly obtained his charter of foundation and confirmation. He took the deepest personal interest in all the details of the transaction, being careful, amongst other things, in superintending the making of a new corporate seal, in place of the ancient one of Gonville or of Bateman.

By the new charter the College was not only put on a secure legal footing, but its revenues were largely increased—approximately doubled. The ancient name of Gonville Hall was changed to that of Gonville and Caius College, and a license in mortmain secured. He also undertook to found new fellowships and scholarships, three of the former and twenty of the latter being due to him. In order to provide funds for this purpose he forthwith,—during his life, we must remember, and whilst in hard practice,—endowed the

College with three valuable manors: those of Croxley, near Rickmansworth, and of Runcton Holme and Burnham Wyndhams in Norfolk. These, it may be remarked, had all been monastic property, belonging respectively to St. Albans, to Bury, and to Wymondham. They were bought of the Queen.

Dr. Caius now came down to Cambridge, to pay what was probably his first visit since he had started as a young man on his journey to Italy. He came, as we should now say, to 'open' his new College. But the visit must have been somewhat of a disappointment. He has left it on record how he found everything changed, and changed for the worse, since his day. He missed the stately dignity which he remembered, or thought he remembered, on the part of the seniors, and the deference to age and authority which once marked the attitude of the juniors. In old days the disputations in the schools were carried on with the ceremony of a court: from Doctors downwards the attendants went in solemn procession, headed by the bedells, each clothed in his appropriate robes. But now the ancient state and pomp were gone. He knew no one, he tells us, and no one knew him. Evidently he felt that the President of the College in London, the physician to the Queen, the founder of what was almost a new college, was not received as he ought to have been.

So far, however, as Caius himself was concerned on this occasion there was no lack of ceremonial. As a pious man he duly celebrated his new foundation with a solemn religious service; and as an Englishman he added to this a sumptuous feast. He has given an

account of the whole proceedings in his Annals. On the Feast of the Virgin (March 25, 1558) he marched in solemn state from his room to the chapel, preceded by four servitors and followed by the Fellows and scholars, walking two and two. There they placed before him a cushion to kneel upon; a caduceus, or silver rod (preserved with our plate); a desk; and a large silver salver. Kneeling before the high altar,—it was still under the reign of Mary,—Mass was performed with full musical ritual. Caius then handed what he called the emblems—namely, the caduceus, cushion, salver, and a book of statutes—to the celebrating priest, with the words, 'We offer these to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to our Society.' The priest received them, and placed them on the altar. The service over, they returned in like solemn state to Caius' room, four servitors marching first, each carrying one of the articles which had just been dedicated.

Later in the day followed the feast, which Caius provided at his own cost. Of all the many functions of which our ancient Hall was the scene, surely this must have been the most impressive. The Vice-Chancellor attended, together with all the most prominent members of the University, and two representatives from each of the colleges then existent. The repast being over, the four servitors again made their appearance, bearing the emblems which had been dedicated, and set them on the table. Then Caius arose, and briefly expounded the nature of his foundation, and announced to the Master, Mr. Bacon, who sat opposite, that the charter appointed him Head of the newly-enlarged College. Then he handed over to the

Master the several symbols or emblems. First the cushion, with the words, 'We give thee the Cushion of Reverence'; then the wand, or caduceus, with the words, 'We give thee the Rod of Prudent Governance'; then the book of statutes, saying, 'We give thee the Book of Knowledge, that thou and those who follow after thee may understand that it is by knowledge and prudent counsel that this College stands, and shall stand.' Finally he handed over the salver, as he said, 'We give to the College and the Society this silver vessel, with thereon the Letters Patent and Charter of Foundation. . . . And thus we create and appoint thee perpetual Master or keeper of this College, for the furtherance of virtue, letters, and honest and gentle manners.' The symbols being removed, he solemnly invoked all happiness for the College, and so finished his discourse. Then merriment ensued, and spiced wine, spikenard, and various after-dinner dainties made their appearance; and so the feast came to a close. Before they parted, however, the Vice-Chancellor, very suitably, in the name of the whole University, offered Caius the degree of M.D. in gratitude for his beneficent foundation. This was conferred on the following Friday, April 1, 1558.

This love of symbolism was a very marked characteristic in Caius, and displays itself on many occasions. For instance, in his coat of arms, evidently designed by himself, the above emblems are again referred to. He thus explains the well-known design of the serpents, book, etc.:

'All these marks or signs of virtue are so inscribed on a shield that the two serpents with their tails entwined stand

erect amongst the amaranths, and, leaning against the square stone of virtue, with their breasts sustain the book and with their heads the sempervivum. To the shield succeeds a helmet, and to the helmet a dove, supporting a flower of amaranth, by which it may be known that knowledge is rendered acceptable by simple-hearted wisdom. By these symbols he desired to intimate to the members of his College that Letters and Prudence being strengthened by the stone of virtue, they might thus arrive at immortality. In order that they might always have these symbols before their eyes, he was careful to have them portrayed by pencil, and called them the symbols of virtue.'

After this brief visit, lasting only a few days at most, Caius took his departure, and returned to his London home. Acts of beneficence such as his are rare at any time, but a gift like this, made in the midst of active professional work, and by a man still in the prime of life, must be almost unique. Apparently he had no other view at this time than to continue his toil as a medical man to the end of his life. Fortunately, however, events were otherwise disposed. Bacon, the negligent and incompetent master, only lived for a few months after this, dying at Chelsfield in Kent, January 1, 1558-9. The thoughts of the fellows not unnaturally turned towards their new benefactor, who alone seemed likely to be able to extricate them from their difficulties. He was accordingly elected Master, January 24, 1558-9. What was the condition, materially and financially, of the College at this time we have already seen. He was himself very unwilling to accept the post, partly because he considered that the Master

should by preference be a theologian, and partly because his own professional work would entail long absence from college.

Now began a very troubled and not very dignified phase of his career. Splendid as were his services to education, and keenly as he interested himself in every direction in the past history and future fortunes of his College, his domestic rule there was far from being successful. Several causes contributed to this result. The Master, though not old, as we should now reckon,—he was only forty-seven when he accepted the post,—was prematurely aged, of somewhat feeble health, and apparently of gloomy and irritable constitution. He was a fervent admirer of the past, and had little sympathy for new views, whether religious, political, or educational. There is reason to believe that he never ceased to be at heart a decided Roman Catholic. On the other hand, the fellows were mostly of the new way of thinking, not only Puritans, but apparently narrow-minded and bitter in spirit. Not one of them achieved any distinction in after-life. They were also very young; it is often overlooked how youthful the residents in college generally were in those days. Not one of the Fellows seems to have been over twenty-four at the time when the quarrel was at its height, and several of them were considerably younger. Between two such parties disputes were bound to spring up, and there were many influences outside which tended to aggravate and embitter their differences.

What were the particular offences of the fellows during the quarrel does not appear. It was probably their general way of thinking, their indisposition to

study on the old lines, and their refractory disposition towards himself, that so irritated their Head. He, on his side, was prompt and active enough in his dealings with his subordinates. He just expelled them one after another, and some of them he seems to have placed in the stocks. The reader need not be startled by this last act, as if an arbitrary outrage had necessarily been committed. The stocks were a part of the furniture of a college hall in those days, and to be set in them for a time was the appropriate punishment for the graver offences of the 'adult,' whether student, bachelor, or Fellow, just as flogging was resorted to for the boys. After the dispute had raged for some time, the Chancellor was appealed to by the Fellows. They conclude their petition by the request that

'our master may be ruled by sume good mans councell herafter, and not to dryve the fellows to such chargable suts and troubles wherein he delyteth to undoe pore men; he never beyng quiet since he came to the colledge, as maye appeare in the number of his expulsions which have ben above twentie, with an infinite number of injuries to the old founders and benefactors and their fellowes, which is well knowen to the hole Universitie.'

This is dated January 7, 1566, just eight years after Caius' return to college.

The matter seems to have been referred to Archbishop Parker, who gives a very reasonable judgment, holding that neither party was free from blame: 'The truth is both parties are not excusable from folye.' In the Master he finds 'overmoche rashness for expelling felowes so sodenly.' As to the Fellows he speaks out his mind more fully:

'Suerly the contemptuouse behaviour of these felowes hath moch provoked hym. The truth is I do rather beare with the oversight of the Master in respect of his good done, and like to be done in the College by him, than with the brag of a fond sort of troublouse factiouse bodyes. Founders and benefactors be very rare in these dayes. . . . Scholars controversies be nowe many and troublouse, and their delite is to come before men of authoritye to shewe their witts. . . . My olde experyence hath taught me to spye daye light at a smal hole.'

The general conclusion of the Chancellor was to the effect that the expulsions should be confirmed, but a hint was given to the Master to be more cautious and gentle in future.

There seems little doubt that the dispute was at bottom mainly a religious one, the Fellows having the support of the Puritan leaders outside. This is confirmed by a long catalogue of complaints in a MS. at Lambeth Library, headed 'Articles concerning the preposterous government of Dr. Caius, and his wicked abuses in Gonevill and Caius Colledge' It is not signed or dated, but is evidently written or inspired by the hostile party amongst the Fellows. The complaints, which are numerous, deal almost exclusively with religious matters. For instance,

'He mainteyneth wythin his colledge copes, vestments, albes, crosses, tapers, . . . with all massinge abominations, and termeth them the colledge treasure. He hath erected and sett up of late a crucifix and other idoles with the image of a doctor kneeling before them,'

with much more to the same effect. We shall see what the Fellows, after biding their time, did with these

'massing abominations' when they got their opportunity a few years later.

It is a relief to turn from the details of this bitter and undignified quarrel, and to see the great doctor under another aspect. During all this time he was busily at work designing and carrying out those architectural additions which, though some of them have been unfortunately destroyed, now give to our buildings their principal interest. He must have seen from the first that the best direction for immediate expansion was towards the south, over what is now the Caius Court; one advantage of this was that access would be secured directly to the schools instead of by a circuitous route from Trinity Lane. Part of this area had long belonged to the College, but was only treated as garden ground. What Caius now did was to purchase from Trinity College nearly the whole area of our existent Tree Court, so that the College came into possession of its present area, with the exception of a small plot at the south-east corner, where the Gate Tower now stands. This last they did not acquire until 1782. There were a number of town houses on the new ground, facing Trinity Lane; these he left standing, pending still further additions to the College buildings.

These purchases were made in 1563. He then proceeded at once to set about his own new buildings, which introduced so new and distinctive a style into Cambridge, and, we might almost say, into England. It may be mentioned here as a curious fact that, utterly distinct as was the collegiate ideal from the monastic, almost every college is somehow connected with a previous monastery. Either it is a converted monastic

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

CAIUS COURT: THE GATE OF VIRTUE AND THE CHAPEL

building, like Jesus, or built on the ground where one had previously stood, like Sidney or Emmanuel; or constructed out of the materials of one, or in some other way connected with such a foundation. Our College is no exception. Not only, as we have already seen, was Anglesey Abbey the original landlord of our ground, but our Caius Court is built out of the ruined materials of Ramsey Abbey. As is well known, there are no stone quarries near Cambridge. The ruins of the great Priory of Barnwell had already been largely used in the building of Trinity, but at Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, with easy access by water, Caius found what he wanted. He bought of Henry Cromwell, grandfather of the Protector, 'all that his heap of stone which lyeth in the cross aisle of the Church of the late Abbey . . . being sometime parcel of the said steple or Lantern, before the fall thereof.'

The buildings which he now erected are those so well known to every visitor in Cambridge. The two sides of the court, east and west, are just as he left them. The roofs have, of course, been repaired from time to time, but always in harmony with the original material. The south side, too, is almost unchanged, except by gradual decay. The wall is his,—he expressly directed that, in order to secure the light and air, there should be nothing erected in the way of chambers on this side,—and though the Gate of Honour was built after his death, it was done at his cost and in accordance with his plans. This Gate of Honour has been often described, and is a constant object of admiration to the painter and architect. The beautifully-minute sculpture with which it was ornamented has unfortunately become much worn,

but though some minor repairs have from time to time been executed, it is fortunate that no serious 'restoration' has ever been attempted. So far he would approve, if he could again revisit his court. What he would justly complain of is the treatment of the north, or chapel, side. In his time the surface of the chapel was of brick, with a curious and picturesque tower against it, giving access to the treasury over the ante-chapel. This tower was called the 'sacred turret,' and was heightened and improved by Caius, as may be seen in Loggan's picture. Unfortunately, when the chapel was 'beautified' in 1718, and the surface coated with ashlar, this tower was removed. The present bell-tower was, of course, intended to be in harmony with the altered face of the chapel.

There are also some minor losses in the way of ornaments, though these do not always refer back to Caius' time. There used to be a profusion of sundials in the court. One of these was a very elaborate construction, designed by Theodore Haveus, an architect and friend of Caius. It stood on the grass-plot, and contained no less than sixty dials. Then each face of the dome of the Gate of Honour had its dial, and there was another over the passage between the two courts. But delicate and elaborate sundials, in our climate, are rather troublesome things to keep in order; and after many and expensive repairs these were finally abolished, probably some time in the eighteenth century.

Caius was far too fond of symbolism not to provide an impressive ceremonial on the occasion of laying the first stone of his new buildings. He has described the proceedings in his Annals. They commenced at

4 a.m. on Saturday, May 5, 1565. A number of representatives of the University were present. After prayer had been offered that the College thus commenced might have a successful future, and that those who should be trained in it might be honest, studious, God-fearing, and serviceable to the State, he laid a stone as he uttered these words: 'I dedicate this building to Wisdom. I lay this foundation-stone for the furtherance of Virtue and Letters. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' With his usual love of detail he has recorded that whereas it had rained almost incessantly during the two preceding months, the weather changed suddenly at this time, and remained beautifully fine for three weeks, until the foundations were completed, 'which I took as a sign of the favour of God.'

The symbolism connected with his three gates is well known, and must be certainly due to his design. After he had bought the site of our present Tree Court, the natural approach to the College would be from this side, namely, from what was then 'High Street.' Accordingly, the Gate of Humility was placed there, facing St. Michael's Church. Though this gate had been much repaired, and at some time coated with cement, it remained the main entrance until the great rebuilding of 1868. Then it was considered necessary to remove it, and it now stands in the Master's garden. Passing through this, the student approached between two high walls, along a passage resembling that at Jesus College, and reached the Gate of Virtue. From thence he was supposed to proceed to the Gate of Honour, and so to quit the College on his way to the schools.

Once begun, the building of the court did not take long. With characteristic minuteness, Caius tells us that the west side was completed at 3 p.m. on September 1, 1565. The other side followed soon after, and by 1566 rooms were ready for the use of students. The accommodation thus secured represented, relatively, a very large addition. Of course a means of communication had to be made between the old court and the new. This was secured by the present passage, which occupies what was part of the Master's ground-floor room.

Dr. Caius was far, however, from having yet completed what he was to do for his College. There is something almost sublime in the way in which, in spite of all the opposition and slanders and intrigues of his whole community, he quietly went on his way, adding one benefaction after another. He took no salary during the whole time of his tenancy of the mastership; he gave to the College the important Manor of Bincombe in Dorset, with the advowson of the living; he presented books, plate, and other valuables; he put the records in order, and compiled a MS. history of the College under the name of the 'Annals.'

Having secured the legal incorporation of the College, and provided it with a new seal, he next turned to the question of a coat of arms and a body of statutes. The arms were granted to himself in 1561, and he doubtless planned at the same time a grant for the College, but this was not actually obtained until after his death. His own arms, which are impaled on the sinister side of the College coat, are described as follows in the grant:

'That is to say, golde semyed with flower gentle in the middle of the cheyfe, sengrene resting uppon the heades of ii serpents in pale, their tayles knytte together all in proper colour, resting uppon a square marble stone vert, between theire brests a boke sable garnyshed gewles, buckles golde, and to his creste upon the helme a Dove argent bekyd and membred gewles, holding in his beke by the stalke flower gentle in proper color, stalked verte set on a wreth golde and gewles, mantelled gewles, lyned argent, buttoned golde, as more plainly apperyth by the picture thereof in this margyn; betokening by the boke, learning; by the ii serpents resting upon the square marble stone, wisdom with grace founded and stayed upon vertues stable stone; by sengrene and flower gentle, immortalite that never shall fade; as though thus I shulde saye, *ex prudentia et literis virtutis petra firmatis immortalitas;* that is to say, by wisdome and lerning graffed in grace and vertue men come to immortalite.'

The wording of the last clauses, with their peculiar symbolism,—unusual, I think, in such official grants,—is strongly suggestive of Caius' own composition. We have a reproduction of the original document in the combination-room.

His statutes, which, jointly with those of Bateman, continued to control the College until the Commission of 1856, are extraordinarily minute. Most legislators of this kind like to perpetuate their own convictions and predilections, but Caius carries this disposition to unusual excess. He lays down the law in the minutest detail, even on matters which, if referred to at all, should have been left to the decision of the rulers for the time being. One statute expressly forbids anyone

to step on the roof, except for the purpose of repairing it; another prohibits the fixing of candles against the walls or pillars. He assigns the hours at which the gates are to be closed; the precise money value of what a fellow may obtain from the kitchen at other than meal-times, and so on. Sometimes he gives vent to what seems like whim, or even spite, as when, in prescribing the qualifications of the scholars, he says that none are to be elected who are 'deaf, dumb, deformed, lame, confirmed invalids, or *Welshmen*.' Some of these minute regulations are wise, and have proved very useful, as when he lays down precisely how the College records are to be kept. It is to this provision that our unusually full and early Matriculation Register is due, with its assignment of the age, birthplace, parentage, and even school, of each student. His most important provision for the future of science is in his statute concerning anatomy. He prescribes that a sum of £1 6s. 8d. is to be expended every year in dissections: it may be remarked that he had already in his foundation license secured permission for obtaining free of payment the bodies of two felons annually for this purpose. It is significant of his reverential feeling that he prescribes in his statute that not only shall the bodies be treated with the utmost respect, but that the remains shall be subsequently buried in St. Michael's, the whole College reverently attending the funeral.

In spite of all his splendid services, it does not appear that Dr. Caius' relations with his Fellows became more friendly, or, rather, that the animosity of the more bigoted amongst them was ever relaxed. One or two of the seniors may have been partially gained over, but

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE GATE OF HONOUR

it seems plain that he made no real friend amongst them. As he grew older and feebler, he must have found his position becoming harder to bear, for the insubordination within his College was aggravated by bitter hostility from without. At last the climax came in the authorized pillage of his rooms, and the destruction of a number of Church ornaments which he had retained there. The following letter from Dr. Byng, the Vice-Chancellor, to Lord Burghley, the Chancellor, gives an account of the matter:

'I am further to geve your honor advertisement of a greate oversight of D. Caius, who hath so long kept superstitious monumentes in his college, that the evil fame thereof caused my lord of London to write very earnestly to me to see them abolished. I could hardly have been persuaded that suche thinges had been by him reservid. But causing his own company to make searche in that college I received an inventory of muche popishe trumpery, as vestments, albes, tunicles, stoles, manicles, corporas clothes, with the pix and sindon, and canopie, beside holy water stoppes, with sprinkles, pax, sensars, superaltaries, tables of idolles, masse bookes, portuises, and grailles, with other such stuffe as might have furnished divers massers at one instant. It was thought good by the whole consent of the heades of houses, to burne the bookes and such other things as served most for idolatrous abuses, and to cause the rest to be defaced: which was accomplished yesterday with the willing hartes, as appeared, of the whole company of that house' (December 14, 1572).

Knowing what were the relations between most of the Fellows and the Master, we can well believe that it was with 'willing hearts' that they set about the

business to which the Vice-Chancellor instigated them. Much they must have enjoyed the fun of rummaging through the Lodge for those 'massing abominations' which they had for years been denouncing. Dr. Caius, indeed, declares that it was they who planned the outrage at a supper-party, some of their number keeping guard through the night lest the offensive articles should be removed. His own account of the transaction in the 'Annals' is dignified but bitter. He says that the work of destruction was superintended by Dr. Byng, the Vice-Chancellor, by Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity, and Dr. Goade, Provost of King's. They were engaged on the work from noon to three, carrying it out in a shamefully sacrilegious way. The articles which they could not burn were smashed to pieces with hammers. It is probable that amongst the things thus destroyed were many curious and ancient gifts, for various vestments and Church ornaments are recorded as being given from time to time by former Masters and other benefactors. Indeed, Caius tells us that in his younger days the vestments presented by Bateman at the foundation of the College were still in use at the great festivals of the Virgin.

After such a deliberate attack as this,—sanctioned and encouraged by the chief authorities of the University,—upon what he held most sacred, it is not surprising that he soon decided to leave college. He retired to his house in St. Bartholomew's, 'much grieved and disturbed at the furious and rash zeal of those times,' as his successor, Dr. Brady, says. He did not long survive, and for several months before his death was in a condition of extreme weakness.

There are two letters from him to Archbishop Parker in Lambeth library, which contain a touching account of his condition towards the end. In one of these he refers to a last visit paid to his College just a month before his death. He says:

'I came to Cambridge upon St. Johns even, wearied much with my horselyther, but after a daye or two with a lytle reste somewhat more quyetted. Notwithstandinge my greate infirmitie and weeknes doth yet remayne, looking still rather for death, which God send at his will, than for lyfe. This few words I thought to signifie unto your grace that your grace might understande the state of my bodie. I can not eat anything but yt swelleth in my stomocke and putteth me to payne long after, so that I am afrayd to eate, and yf I eate not, such weaknes enseweth that I am not able to susteyne my bodie and strength. And thus, doubtfull of the one, the other will make an ende of me, yet consent and submitting myselfe to God's pleasure. And thus referring all my things to your grace, as in my will, for shortnes I take my leave, committing your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. I have done here at Cambrydge all things according to my minde, and discharged myselfe of all things to the intent I would geve myselfe from the worlde, and depend of God's mercy onlye. Your grace knowe what I meane in all things. The Lorde preserve your grace. From Cambridge this last day of June, 1573.'

It was on the occasion of this last visit to Cambridge that he resigned the mastership to Dr. Legge, the Fellows having formally granted him leave to nominate his successor. The few days of his stay in College were devoted to arranging about his monument, and the

place of his burial in the chapel. 'On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of July, waiting upon the will of God, and being stricken with years and disease, he gave orders for the construction of a chambered tomb, in which his body should be laid to rest' ('Annals'). He then returned to his house in London, where he died, July 29, 1573. His body was brought to Cambridge by his executors, and was met at Trumpington Ford,—*i.e.*, by the brook at the present first milestone,—by the Fellows of the College and the principal members of the University. Of his well-known monument in the chapel, Thomas Fuller pleasantly says: 'Few might have had a longer, none ever had a shorter epitaph: *Fui Caius.*'

His features are familiar to many from the portraits and engravings. They display a high forehead and a countenance of some determination. In stature he was very short. Professor A. Macalister, who measured the thigh-bone when the grave was opened in 1891, considers that he could not have been more than about 5 feet 1 inch. We may picture him, during most of his College life, as a rather sad and stern man, not strong in constitution, for he died utterly worn out at the age of sixty-two. His voice was weak, for when he disputed in the Medical Act before the Queen in 1564, she was impelled more than once to bid him speak up, and even then had to come near in order to hear him clearly. He was not a genial man, and he did not attempt to disguise his contempt for what he considered the indolence and indifference to learning of most of his juniors. As he remarks to Archbishop Parker, 'Young men be nowadays so negligent that they care for nothing.' He made but few friends. Perhaps Parker

came as near to being a close friend as anyone in England, but his official position as head of the Reformed Church must have stood in the way of real intimacy. To Conrad Gesner alone, the Swiss naturalist, his heart seems to have gone out. In one of his works, referring to Gesner's death, which had occurred several years before, he breaks out into a strangely passionate and pathetic lament on the vanity and uncertainty of life, and declares that his sense of loss grew no lighter as years passed by.

We have three portraits of him in the College. Far the best of these is a three-quarter face in the hall. This is an excellent picture, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity. Probably the one in the combination-room is more generally known; it represents him in profile. It is a good picture, but there is some doubt as to whether it is an original or an early copy. Both of these have been repeatedly engraved. The third is a small picture on panel, probably contemporary, and was bought in Padua about 1840.

Dr. Caius' monument does not now stand in its original position. It was at first placed on the ground directly over his grave, at what was then the extreme east end of the chapel. When the chapel was lengthened in 1637, it was set up in its present position against the wall. The grave itself has been twice broken into during the course of alterations and improvements. The first occasion was in 1719. A Mr. Warren, of Trinity Hall, has given the following account of what he then saw:

'This brings to my mind what I saw in Caius College Chapel. I remember when they were repairing and

beautifying that Chapel, the workmen had broke a hole either by accident or design into Dr. Caius' grave, which was a hollow place lined with brick, on the north side of the Chapel, at a little distance from his monument, which was a natural one. The lid of the coffin was off when I looked in with a candle fixed in a long cleft stick which the workmen furnished me with, and with which I could survey the sepulchre very easily. The sides of the coffin were remaining, though in a disjointed and rotten condition. The body seemed to have been a very lusty one' (this is strange, considering what we know of his long and wasting illness), 'and the coffin was pretty full of it: the flesh was of a yellowish black colour, and yielded to the least touch of the stick and fell to pieces: the eyes were sunk deep into their sockets. A long gray beard, much like that we see in the picture of him, only this was grown very rough by long time: I think it was then about 145 years from the time of his death. I touched his beard with the stick, and turned it a little on one side: it accordingly lay on one side, having lost all manner of elasticity. I therefore brought it back to its right place again. The sight occasioned in me serious reflections, and I went away with such a regard as I thought due to the memory of so celebrated a man as Dr. Caius had been' (see 'Cambridge Portfolio,' p. 175).

The grave was again disturbed when the chapel was being reseated in 1891. On this occasion a cast of the skull was taken by Dr. Macalister, Professor of Anatomy (it is now placed over his monument), and the thigh-bone was measured, with the conclusion as to his small stature already mentioned.

Dr. Caius was a voluminous author; but of his many compositions several were lost in MS., and others still

remain unpublished. The following are some of the best known: 'A Boke or Counseill against the Disease commonly called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sicknesse,' 1552. This was written from his own observation, and is the standard account of the disease. 'De Antiquitate Cantebrigiensis Academiæ,' 1574. This was published anonymously; it contains his well-known attempt to prove the superior antiquity of his own University against his namesake, Thomas Caius of Oxford. 'De Canibus Britannicis,' 1570; afterwards republished in English with the title 'Of Englishe Dogges.' This had been composed for insertion in his friend Gesner's 'History of Animals.' In reference to this, Fuller tells us that 'when King James I. passed through the College the master thereof presented him with a "Caius de Antiquitate Cantebrigiæ," fairly bound, to whom the King said, "What should I do with this book? Give me rather "Caius De Canibus."' His 'De Pronunciatione Græcæ et Latinæ Linguæ' deals with the question of a reformed pronunciation which was then agitating the University.

Of his works still in MS., his 'Annals' of our College is the most interesting and valuable. It is an account, written in Latin, of the history of his College, with transcripts of many ancient deeds, licenses, etc. He compiled a similar volume of the 'Annals of the College of Physicians in London,' with which he was so closely connected during all the latter part of his life.

Dr. Caius' rule in college as Master did not last long, and, as we have seen, was in some respects singularly unfortunate. He does not seem to have had the art of

attracting or retaining men of ability as fellows, and, so far as the corporation itself was concerned, the distinction of the College was due to himself alone. But the period in question is of the greatest possible interest, as it marks the definite commencement of a new era. The final legal settlement of the religious controversy had now been made, but it was only very gradually that the narrowing and hardening process set in, by which the Universities were for nearly three centuries prevented from being, in any true sense, national institutions.

Our first admission register commences with the year following Caius' accession. It is to him that we owe this valuable record, with its minute information as to the status and antecedents of those who entered his College. No such register had been introduced elsewhere, and it was very slowly and imperfectly that other colleges began to follow his precedent. The picture which is thus set before us as to the condition of the College in the early days of Elizabeth's reign is a very striking one. On every side we see signs of the recent storms. Among the residents is quite a group of men who had been admitted to Holy Orders in former reigns and under another régime, and who had temporarily found a refuge under what they may have thought would be the sympathetic protection of Dr. Caius. Dr. Cosin, for instance, had been Master of St. Catharine's in the reign of Mary. After his expulsion or retirement thence he took refuge with us, where he entered as a fellow-commoner and took pupils. William King had been Archdeacon of Northumberland, and must now also have been in retirement. Henry

Stile had been a Fellow of Trinity, and afterwards a monk, apparently at the briefly revived monastery of Westminster Abbey. He subsequently returned to his old life, and died at the Abbey of St. Ghislain in Flanders. William Whinke had been Vice-Provost of King's, and deprived on account of his opinions at the accession of Elizabeth. Others seem to have been hesitating as to which side they should adopt. One, for instance, George Gardiner, had been a Fellow of Queens', and known as a persecutor in Mary's reign; he finally sided with the Protestants, and became ultimately Dean of Norwich. Richard Hall, on the other hand, had been a Fellow of Pembroke; he afterwards became a Canon of Cambray, and died at the Romish College of Douay. Another significant fact at this time is the appearance of foreigners at Cambridge. In one year we find the names of John Vulpe, of Fünfkirchen in Hungary, and of Sebastian Roccatagliata, born and trained at Genoa. They were both middle-aged men, doubtless fugitives on religious grounds: the latter afterwards took Orders in the Anglican Church.

Other names might be added to these of men who had passed through various religious experiences. In those days of intellectual ferment men looked far and wide for sympathy in religious feeling, for companionship with an honoured teacher, for a place where the restrictions on their opinions would be less galling. It was for this, rather than for endowment, that they were in search, and consequently it seemed a light matter for a youth to journey from the remotest parts of England or from foreign countries in order to seek admission at some particular college. Hence, I apprehend, the

picturesque variety in respect of age and origin, of belief, training, and profession, which characterizes the brief period in question.

But it is not these men only who confer on the colleges that stirring and picturesque character which they possessed in early Elizabethan times. By the extinction of the hostels, and the diffusion of wealth into new hands in the country, a stream of fresh life began to pour into the colleges which gradually but completely changed their character. The son of the nobleman, of the country gentleman, of the wealthy merchant, had been a very scarce inmate of a college before the Reformation. Nearly all who made their appearance were poor men, supported by some endowment, and destined for the priesthood. From now, for nearly a century, there came in ever-increasing numbers youths who had been reared in easy circumstances, and who looked forward to a life of social or political activity. We shall see in the course of the next section how completely the character of college life was changed in consequence.

During Dr. Caius' mastership the most important event in University history was, perhaps, the visit of Queen Elizabeth in August, 1564—the longest and most magnificent of all the royal visits which Cambridge has seen. For five days the Queen was engaged in one continual round of services, disputations, addresses, and plays. The visit was announced to the Vice-Chancellor about a month before by Lord Burleigh, who desired the authorities to consider 'what manner of pleasures in lernynge may be presented to her Majesty.' Our College was duly inspected by the

Queen, but our principal share in the ceremonials was a peculiar one, as to us was allotted not only the housing and entertainment of the doctors, but also that of the Maids-of-Honour in her Majesty's train. Unfortunately, we have no details as to how this unique welcome given to ladies was carried out. Two members of the College took a prominent part in those 'pleasures of learning' which the University so amply provided. Dr. Busbey, a fellow-commoner, was one of the disputants in the Law Faculty, and Dr. Caius naturally took the chief part in his own department. The Medical Acts took place in St. Mary's Church, the subjects being, 'Whether a simple diet was preferable to a varied one,' and 'Whether supper should be a more liberal meal than dinner'—subjects, we may imagine from what we know of his feeble digestion, already of painful personal interest to the principal disputant. The discussion does not seem to have been very successful:

'then Dr. Caius, as antient in that faculty, moved the questions. And then the respondent made his position. But because their voices were small and not audible, her Majesty first said unto them, *Loquimini altius;* but because their voices were low and she could not well hear them, her Grace made not much of that Disputation' (Nichols, 'Progress of Queen Elizabeth,' i. 171).

CHAPTER IV

THE ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL: 1558-1607

'I have had very much ado with the quarrels of Gonville Hall.'—*Archbishop Parker to the Chancellor, Lord Burleigh.*

THOMAS LEGGE, seventeenth Master, 1573-1607, was a son of Stephen Legge, and Margaret, daughter of William Larke. The family seems to have been widespread, and to have been originally of Italian origin, the Norfolk branch having migrated from Herefordshire. Thomas Legge's pedigree was entered in the Cambridgeshire Visitation of 1619, from which it appears that he was the second of three sons. He was born at Norwich in 1535; matriculated at Corpus in 1552, but afterwards migrated to Trinity, where he graduated B.A. in 1557 and M.A. in 1560. He was for some years a Fellow and lecturer at Trinity, and afterwards, from 1568 to 1573, a Fellow and very successful tutor at Jesus. Here he seems to have attracted the notice of Dr. Caius, who, in accordance with the permission which had been granted to him by the College, nominated Mr. Legge 'his trusty and well-beloved friend' to succeed him as Master.

It may be remarked here that, owing to the increasing number of students and the recent profound changes in the constitution and customs of the colleges, the modern or tutorial system was just beginning to come into operation. But it existed at present, in several respects, in a far more influential form than it assumed in later times. Instead of there being one or two official tutors, to whom all the students were assigned as a matter of course, there was very great freedom in their selection. Any Fellow, or apparently any Master of Arts, might be a tutor according to the preference of the parent, or at the suggestion and direction of the Master. Then the students themselves were considerably younger, and three or four of them would be living and sleeping in the same room with their tutor. It is impossible to overrate the influence which a tutor or Master of powerful individuality could thus exercise; he might cast the impress of his own views upon the whole College.

Legge himself is a remarkable instance in point. When he moved from Jesus to Caius, he brought quite a troop of his pupils with him, and after a few years he made his new college one of the best known in the University. As might be expected of one selected by Dr. Caius, Legge was decidedly the reverse of a Puritan. His convictions may have been Protestant, but much of his sympathy was with the old way of thinking, and it is plain that those of that way had a confidence in him which they placed in no other Cambridge tutor. The most striking instance of this is given in a letter from Dr. Sandys, Archbishop of York, to the Chancellor of the University, wherein he complains of the way in

which Dr. Legge was misleading the young gentry of his diocese: 'All the popish gentlemen in this country send their sons to him. He setteth sundry of them over to one Swale, also of the same house, by whom the youth of this country is corrupted.' Richard Swale, tutor and afterwards President, was of a known Yorkshire family, and was a strong supporter of the Master. A glance at our admission register will show that this statement is hardly at all exaggerated. Although our College had no connection whatever with that part of England in the way of scholarships or other endowments, we find the names of one after another of the sons of prominent Yorkshire gentlemen. In regard to their 'Popish' sympathies, as we shall see, these gentry and their sons did not leave much room for doubt.

The dispute which ensued in the College resembled that under which poor Dr. Caius suffered so much, for it was stirred up by a Puritan majority of the fellows against the 'Papistry' of the Master. But Dr. Legge enjoyed some great advantages over his predecessor. He was young and full of vigour, and, what was very important, there was a small minority in the College consisting of his supporters, principal amongst these being Dr. Swale, a learned civilian and afterwards a Master in Chancery. Moreover, the University authorities never seem to have distrusted Legge as they did Caius. In 1579, towards the height of the dispute, he was appointed Commissary to the University; he also held the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1587-88, and during part of 1592-93. One little point may be added. Caius, with his nervous and morbid temperament, had no relaxations whatever. Legge had a valuable resource:

he was keenly interested in the drama. Not only, as we are told, was he in the constant habit of attending plays, but he was also extremely fond of writing them, and left one or two behind him.

The dispute was a more serious and dignified one than that which embittered Dr. Caius' life. The great struggle which Legge was charged with abetting and supporting was nothing less than the well-known 'Counter-Reformation'—the determined attempt of Rome, with the aid of the Jesuits, to recover power in England. There was nothing for some time positively to exclude the Romanist from college. Doubtless those who had definitely looked forward to the priesthood would go to one of the seminaries abroad, then recently established; but there were many of the gentry of the old way of thinking, who would much prefer an English education for their sons provided they felt secure against proselytism, and this security they thought they possessed to a greater extent in our College whilst under the rule of Dr. Legge than they could elsewhere hope for.

The quarrel between the Master and Fellows was for some years kept within the College, but about 1582 it exploded in the form of a long and earnest petition to the Chancellor, Lord Burleigh—the same who, as Sir W. Cecil, had been appealed to against Dr. Caius. The petition came from seven of the Fellows. It declares that

'The cause is the Lorde's, in zeale of his Religion, in duty to the Foundation whereby we are maintained, in care of the Revenues, in conscience to the youth which is infected

to the slaunder of the tyme and hindrance of proceedings. The persons whome we touch are men by all likelyhood rooted in Papistry from their youth, fosteres of Papists by drawing them into fellowships, encouraging others with maintenance, countenance, and example . . . dangerous persons to deal withall, able to deceive the wisest, as professing openly the lawfulness of dissembling, of whome Papists doe glory, the University and godly minded are ashamed of; which for many years have made the College as a seminary to poyson the Commonwealth with corrupted Gentlemen.'

The petitioners declare that they had already appealed to the Vice-Chancellor and to the Visitors of the College, and had obtained no redress: they now call upon the Chancellor.

Their prime complaint is of course the religious one. They declare that the Master had furtively introduced a real Popish priest into the College in guise of butler; that he had 'by his importunate labour brought in one Depup to be fellow, notoriously vicious and suspected to be Popish'; that he encouraged the students to absent themselves from the chapel service, and to keep and to study Popish books; that he suffered a pupil of his own, young Babthorpe, 'to wear a crucifix of silver and gilt about his neck, which two of the house reported that they did see as he lay in bed'; that another youth, a Huddleston, dying in college, 'this deponent did see wax candles carried to his chamber, which he believeth were burning about the dead body until ten of the clock.' And when the Deans tried to do their duty by checking such practices, so far from finding any support, 'the Deans themselves are shame-

fully abused, buffeted, and beaten down, and the scholars maintained and encouraged.' Very many curious and interesting details are recorded in their long depositions, and altogether their petition throws more light on the state of feeling and practice in college at that date than I have found anywhere else.

Besides their complaints on religious grounds, the fellows make a number of accusations against the Master's domestic management, charging him with not consulting them on college matters, with neglect of many statutable duties, and even with dishonesty in not paying trust funds into the treasury. A curious bit of personal experience on the part of Dr. Legge is brought into light in the course of the dispute. It appears that he had recently spent a short time in the Fleet prison, whither he had been sent 'for not answering her Majesty's letters'; presumably some royal command had not been duly attended to. Legge had laid the cost of his charges in this business, amounting to £10, on the College; whence the complaint.

On the whole the fellows did not take much by their action. On some minor points the Master was declared in fault,—he was ordered to pay his prison expenses himself,—and it is evident that the authorities considered him lax in religious matters; but nothing approaching to a general condemnation of his conduct could be obtained. The worst that the Vice-Chancellor, to whom the matter had been referred, would say was that Dr. Legge, 'being of a gentle nature, had been much misled by the perverse and wilful disposition of Mr. Swale.' Swale himself, who had been introduced by Legge, did not remain long in college after this

He was subsequently a Master in Chancery, Commissary for Ely Diocese, and M.P. for Higham Ferrers. He was an excellent tutor, as is shown in a long subsequent letter by Gruter, the great scholar, who had been one of his pupils; and we are told that he was an intimate friend and adviser of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton.

It has been said above that the depositions in this case (now mostly amongst the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum) give a graphic picture of one aspect of college life at the time. This picture is rendered far more striking, so far as our College is concerned, by a study of our admission register, and of the after-careers of some of the students who entered during the first twelve or fifteen years of Dr. Legge's rule. It is impossible to give the full evidence here; but as this episode in English history has hardly yet received due notice, it is worth calling attention to the degree and kind of accession to the Romish cause supplied by one college, and that not a large one, during a few years of Elizabeth's reign.

Four members of the College were almost certainly martyrs. One of these was John Fingley, the man whom the Master had made butler,—an office always held by a scholar or sizar,—without the consent of the College. The fellows seem to have soon apprehended his character, for though he was not, as they reported, a priest at the time, he soon afterwards became one. He was hanged and quartered at York in 1586. William Deane, for some time a pensioner, is doubtless the man who was executed at Mile End in 1588, as a priest ordained abroad. John Weldon, another

seminary priest, is expressly assigned to our College in a contemporary pamphlet. Returning after expulsion, he was executed for treason. Francis Moundeford is almost certainly the same who is described by Dr. Dodd as having been ordained in Rome, and subsequently hanged in England as a priest. John Ballard, seminary priest, hanged in 1585, belongs rather to the political than the religious category, as he suffered for his share in Babington's plot. Besides these, seven seem to have joined the Order of Jesuits. The best known of these was Richard Holtby, who somehow escaped with his life, in spite of many years' labour in England. William Flacke became Rector of the College at Ghent. Reginald Eaton was for several years a missioner in the College of St. Francis Xavier, where he subsequently died. Christopher Walpole, brother of the well-known martyr, was Spiritual Father at Valladolid. Henry Coppinger served for many years in Suffolk, his native county; Robert Markham and Charles Yelverton, members of families of some distinction in Nottinghamshire and Norfolk, also joined the Society of Jesus. Seven others became seminary priests. Of these the best known was Robert Sayer. He was afterwards a Benedictine monk at Monte Cassino, under the name of Gregory. Another was Henry, brother of Ambrose Rookwood of the Gunpowder Plot. John Roberts, after being ordained at Rome, returned to England in a rather daring and risky way, as did his friend and fellow-townsman, Edward Osburne, of Kelmarsh. The latter is referred to in the complaint of the fellows as one 'who, being convicted of Papistry, the Master did not expulse him.' Edward Dakyns entered the College as a Master of

Arts, being tutor to a young Creswell, whose father was subsequently a recusant. Richard Cornwallis belonged to a well-known Norfolk family. Most of the above repeatedly risked their lives by visits to England after being ordained at foreign seminaries.

Besides the above priests, there were over twenty members of the College who suffered subsequently for their opinions, either by imprisonment, by fine as recusants, or in some other way. Many of these belonged to important Yorkshire families, and so far bear out the Archbishop's complaint mentioned above. Thus, we find amongst the subsequent recusants St. Quintin, Wentworth, Stapleton, Creswell, Aske, and, from other counties, Drury, Rookwood, Huddleston.

But it must not be supposed that it was in this way only that the stirring of thought and feeling which marked 'the stately times of great Elizabeth' was displayed. The drift towards Rome was after all only an eddy, and the main current of University life was flowing strongly in a more national direction. If anyone were to consult the College register alone, knowing nothing of English history, he could hardly fail to recognise that some powerful impulse was at work, which was stirring the nation into unusual mental activity. Confining ourselves again to the same short period of fifteen or twenty years, we find three names at least of men still illustrious in science or letters. William Harvey, the physiologist, was a scholar on the foundation for seven years. Edward Wright, a distinguished mathematician, and the first to apply mathematics to the art of navigation, was a fellow for about ten years. Janus Gruter, the great scholar, though born

in Antwerp, was educated from a boy in England. He was a pupil, and, as his letters show, a grateful pupil, of Dr. Swale. Henry Aynsworth, considered as one of the most learned of the early Nonconformists, was a scholar for three years, and must have acquired his learning at our College. John Pory, traveller and Arabic scholar, a friend of Hakluyt and of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, was also a scholar for five or six years. To these may be added Richard Parker, an antiquarian writer, and John Dey, the dramatic poet—though the last, according to the custom of his kind, had to leave without a degree. Many names might be added to these of divines and authors of lesser note. But these will suffice to show what a time of intellectual activity a residence in college may then have afforded. A very different description will have to be given, as we shall see, of the state of things 150 years later.

After about 1588 or 1590 the College quieted down. The disturbing Romish element disappeared, owing to the increasing stringency of the regulations carried out by the Government and the University authorities. For more than two centuries and a half scarcely a single member of that communion entered the College, and those who, having been admitted as students, afterwards joined that Church might be counted by units. So far as the Universities were concerned, that section of English society simply disappeared.

Dr. Legge continued to rule over the College for many years after these events. His influence evidently increased, and the animosity against him seems to have died out. He must have been widely known and trusted in the country, as is shown by the number of

youths belonging to the gentry and the nobility who continued to be admitted during his time. A reference to our admission register will give ample evidence. At no subsequent period do we find anything like so many youths of birth and wealth to whom a stay in college was the preliminary stage to a varied and active career in public life. In the Georgian time, as we shall see, the colleges seemed settling down into almost purely clerical seminaries. In the Elizabethan time plenty of the students went out into the world. They can be tracked in after-life in the Court and the camp; they play their part in politics, in society, in foreign expeditions, in travel, and so forth.

Dr. Legge was assisted in the College by several able men. For instance, in 1590, about the middle of his career, of the twelve fellows the following deserve notice: Stephen Perse, the great benefactor to the College and the town, and well known in his day as a medical man; Edward Wright, the distinguished mathematician, mentioned above; Thomas Grimstone, doctor of medicine and anatomist, at whose dissections in college there can be little doubt that William Harvey attended; Robert Church, University and Lady Margaret preacher, an intimate friend of Gabriel Harvey; George Estey, afterwards Vicar of St. Mary, Bury, and author of an 'Exposition of the Creed' and other works; Alexander Roberts, afterwards Head-master of the very important Grammar School at Lynn, author of several religious works; Thomas Reve, a very promising student of divinity, whose career was cut short by consumption; and John Fletcher. The last deserves a few words of notice. He was an excellent mathematician, and the

teacher, it is said, of the well-known Henry Briggs; but his main reputation was that of an astrologer, in which department he became widely known. He largely helped Sir Christopher Heydon in his 'Defence of Judicial Astrology.' Sir Christopher's son William, afterwards killed in the expedition to the Isle of Rhe, was a pupil of Fletcher, and we have a letter from the father requesting the tutor to cast his son's 'nativity.' Fletcher's fame was such that people came from London to consult him. A curious case of this kind is reported in the State Papers Domestic for 1593.

As the account of the incident, besides the light it throws on the manners of the times, gives us some details about the College, it may be referred to here.* It seems that in 1592 a certain Mrs. Shelley, of London, got into trouble, partly by the loss of some property, and partly by the imprisonment of her husband on what seems to have been a capital charge. So, as she tells us, 'she had a conference with Fletcher, of Caius Colledge, said to be skillful in Astronomy, and moved him to set a figure how she should recover her money and jewels.' His account of the interview is as follows:

'Mrs. Shelley came to my chamber about Midsomer was a twelvemonth, and demanded of me how she might recover certaine things againe of a minister, Nathaniel Baxter, who had deceyved her of them. . . . In my window lay some goozeberyes lately gathered which she tooke and did eate. Thereupon, to pleasure her, I said that there were more in the garden; whether she was

* The summary in the State Papers Domestic is brief and inaccurate. I have printed the original letters in full in the *Caian*, vi. 1.

willing to goe. Wherafter she had gotten a few more goozeberries we walked four or fyve times in the alley. . . . Asked me yf I could tell whether her husband should escape deathe in Januarye or Februarye whereof she doubted. I answered that I was loathe to deale in such matters, and yet I could do her noe good except I had her husband's nativitie. . . . so after that tyme she departed. Another tyme she came to my chamber, but she would not staie, because she said Mr. Butler the physician had greatlie rebuked her for cominge to schollers' chambers. Another tyme upon a Sondaie in the afternoon, after sermon, she sent her laundresse to me to desire me to come to her. . . . Then to satisfie her I went to her in the said garden; where she sittinge and I walking up and down by her in a streit alley where two could not walke together, she said: You will not sitt because I smell of garlick, which I have eaten to amend my stomacke. To whom I said, I doe not like your physick, neither do I refuse to sitt down therefore, but because the seate would beraye my gowne: as also some of the house who might come into the gardeyn should not see us together. . . . At lengthe she said: And in faith what saye you of my husband, whether shall he escape or noe? To whom I said: Mistress, I can doe you noe good in these cases. And nowe I must leave you, because I must go to praiers nowe at fower oclocke. Another tyme she came into our College courte. . . . When I came we walked a turne or twoe, and then she rested in the porche of the Colledge called Porta Honoris, and tooke forthe a booke.'

The depositions are rather long, and the outcome of the examination of Mr. Fletcher is not given, but the above are the principal references to our College.

Fletcher himself remained in College, and died there many years after.

Legge was a man of great learning and versatile taste. Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' quotes the judgment of the well-known scholar Lipsius as to his profound learning, and the frequency with which his advice was asked in Cambridge. His special subject was the Civil Law, in which department he accumulated a large and valuable library, which was bequeathed to the College. His interest in college antiquities is shown by the care with which he continued the 'Annals' commenced by Caius. He had also a strong taste for the drama, and we are told that whatever time he could spare from his professional duties was employed in attending plays, and in composing them himself. As is well known, the acting of plays at this time, especially during the Christmas festivities, was very popular in Cambridge. The performances generally took place in the College halls, and evidently were carefully prepared, and excited keen interest. Legge's 'Richard III.' was written for the use of St. John's College on one of these occasions. It was printed by Mr. B. Field for the Shakespeare Society in 1844. The 'Annals' tell us that Legge wrote a play on the 'Fall of Jerusalem,' but, keeping it too long in hand for revision and improvement, it was stolen by some plagiarist.

Legge died in college, July 12, 1607, and is buried in the chapel, where a fine monument was erected to his memory. His portrait is in the Lodge.

This period marks a considerable extension of the College. The endowments were largely added to, principally by the munificent bequest of Mrs. Frank-

land. As we have seen, Dr. Caius founded three fellowships, which, added to the previous nine, made a total of twelve. These always stood on a distinct and superior footing as compared with later foundations. They came in time to be called 'senior fellowships,' and only the holders of these were entitled to take part in the management of the College. Mrs. Frankland added six more to the number. The holders of these, and similar subsequent ones, came in time to be called 'junior fellows,' and though strictly on the foundation, and conventionally entitled to succeed in due time to the seniority, they never, whilst juniors, enjoyed the same dignity and privilege.

The circumstances under which Mrs. Frankland's donation was made are so pathetic that they deserve to be recorded. Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, has related the story. He says:

'One Mrs. Frankland, late of Herts, widowe, having one only sonne, who youthfully venturing to ride upon an unbroken young horse, was throwne down and slaine. Whereuppon the mother fell into sorrowes uncomfortable; whereof I, being of her acquaintance, having intelligence, did with all speede ride unto her howse near to Hoddesdon to comfort her the best I could. And I founde her cryenge, or rather howlinge continually, Oh my sonne! my sonne! And when I could, by no comfortable words stay her from that cry and tearinge of her haire; God, I thinke, put me in minde at the last to say: Comfort yourselfe good Mrs. Frankland, and I will tell you how you shall have twenty good sonnes to comfort you in these your sorrowes which you take for this sonne. To the which words only she gave care, and lookinge up, asked,

How can that be? And I sayd unto her, You are a widowe, rich and now childlesse, and there be in both universities so many pore towarde youthes that lack exhibition, for whom if you would founde certain fellowships and schollerships, to be bestowed uppon studious younge men, who should be called Mrs. Frankland's schollers, they would be in love towardes you as deare children, and will most hartely pray to God for you duringe your life; and they and their successors after them, being still Mrs. Frankland's schollers, will honour your memory for ever and ever. This being sayd, I will, quoth she, thinke thereuppon most earnestly. And though she lived a good time after, yet she gave in her Testament to the College of Brasen Nose in Oxforde a very greate summe; and to Gonville and Caius College she gave £1540 in money, and in annual rents besides for ever, £33 6s. 8d.'

Here the story of the origin of an endowment has happily been preserved, but there is little doubt that if we could get at the facts in other cases we should find that some such tale of a broken heart, or of the hope deferred which makes the heart sick, lay behind the dry legal phrases of not a few of the dusty deeds in our College treasuries. For some 250 years many a 'poor toward youth' had occasion to remember the name of Joyce Frankland, until it occurred to modern Commissioners that it would be convenient, whilst of course retaining these endowments, to merge them into one fund and drop all reference to the donors.

By Mrs. Frankland's gift there ultimately accrued seven fellowships, which, added to one founded by Dr. Wendy, a great friend of Caius, raised the total number to twenty. She also added twelve scholarships. As

Dr. Caius founded twenty, and several other benefactors had also stepped in to help, the total number of scholarships amounted by this time to about forty-five. Altogether the College was by the end of Legge's time a very different place from 'that poor house called Gonville Hall,' whose failing fortunes Dr. Caius had so opportunely assisted. As has been already said, the need for scholarships became very pressing after the Reformation, when the monasteries, by whose aid so many sons of the poor had been enabled to take Holy Orders, were no longer in existence.

As might be expected, this increase of endowment and consequent addition of numbers, soon demanded an enlargement of the buildings. The second court, built by Caius, had quickly been filled with students, and it now appeared how wise he had been in securing nearly the whole area subsequently occupied by our Tree Court. When he bought this there were several town houses standing on it, some facing Trinity Street and some facing Trinity Lane. In 1594 it was found necessary to convert these houses into chambers for students. The gardens behind them were of course thrown open to the College, since access to them would naturally be obtained from this side, and thus the commencement of a third court was made. Three houses were used in this way for about twenty-five years, until, largely by Dr. Legge's benefaction, new buildings were constructed on their site.

CHAPTER V

THE COLLEGES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TRAINING INFLUENCE: 1607-1642

'Sometimes I applied myself to the humanities, sometimes to philosophy. I was at one time eager to learn Greek and at another Hebrew.'—*Charles Yelverton's account of his studies at Caius.*

FEW persons who have not made some study of that period of history have any adequate conception of the commanding position to which the English Universities had attained during the first thirty or forty years of the seventeenth century. This position was not merely a relative one in the sense that corrections have first to be made to allow for increase of population and of wealth. The superiority was an absolute one. Take the test of numbers,—not that of mere admissions, but that of those who stayed their full time and graduated. In the year 1628 the number of graduates in Cambridge reached 318; it was not until nearly two centuries later—*i.e.*, in 1823, when the population had increased about threefold—that this number was again attained. Nor was this a case of securing quantity at the expense of quality. Confining ourselves to our own College, it

would no doubt be absurd to lay stress on such a genius as Jeremy Taylor. But there were other learned and able divines behind him, and the production of such men, in days when almost the entire education of the student was provided within the walls of his own College, does certainly show what sort of training in scholarship and learning was to be obtained at an ordinary college. As regards the students at the lower end of the list, no invidious remarks shall be made about the 'poll-man' of to-day; but those who have looked into the facts will hardly claim that the ordinary student of, say, 1828 was as carefully trained as was his predecessor of 1628.

There is, perhaps, a slight falling off in what I have called the merely picturesque characteristics so distinctive of the preceding period. There do not seem to be quite so many of the sons of the great gentry and of the nobility, whose names may afterwards be found involved in various forms of adventure, in Court, and camp, and foreign travel. The Universities were now more largely employed in training the clergy, and the results are very remarkable. It may seem almost incredible, and yet it really appears to be the fact, that the annual numbers of the ordained clergy during this period who had graduated at Cambridge were very little below what they are at the present day. Consider the following facts. About three out of four of our graduates then took Holy Orders. Our College was not a specially theological one; in fact, it was decidedly less so than some others. As, therefore, the average number of graduates turned out between the years 1617 and 1637 was 266, we shall not be far wrong

in supposing that Cambridge then supplied about 207 graduate clergy annually. Comparing this with the state of things at the present day, we find that the average number during the last twenty years appears to be about 230.

Nor were these men ill-trained. It must be remembered that a large majority of the graduates stayed on in college till the time of M.A. They were mostly scholars, and their emoluments largely depended on their residence, so that they were very commonly under instruction for seven years from their first admission. We get some information as to the actual studies in the College from the statements of one or two students who joined the Jesuits, as a very full report of their previous life had to be given on their entry into the seminaries. Thus, Charles Yelverton (scholar, 1590-1597) says: 'Sometimes I applied myself to the Humanities, sometimes to Philosophy. I was at one time eager to learn Greek, and at another Hebrew.' Richard Cornwallis says: 'I spent my first three years on Rhetoric, Logic, and Physic; the rest of the time was devoted to Jurisprudence and Humanity.' Of such men as Jeremy Taylor and John Cosin, there seems no reason to doubt that nearly the entire foundation of their learning was laid in their own College. One regulation passed by the College in 1601 is significant. It was enacted that 'all bachelors should attend the Hebrew lectures, and that no one should be admitted to the B.A. who had not attended these lectures for one year.' Of course, it may be said that rule is one thing and practice another; but what would have been thought even of the proposal of such a rule fifty years ago?

No one could have been found on the staff who was able to give the lectures.

The Masters who ruled over the College during this period were all learned and able men. The first of these was William Branthwaite, eighteenth Master, 1607-1619. He had originally entered at Clare, October, 1579, where he graduated B.A. in 1583. In the following year he migrated to Emmanuel, where he was appointed to a fellowship in that newly-founded college. This he held for twenty-three years, graduating M.A. in 1586, and D.D. in 1598. He had a high reputation as a scholar, being particularly versed in Hebrew. He held the office of Lady Margaret Preacher in 1598, and was one of the divines selected to carry out the revised translation of the Bible. As regards his family, the Branthwaites came from the North of England, but had been settled for some time in Norfolk. Here they multiplied, and many successive generations were represented in our College. William's brother Richard was a well-known Serjeant-at-Law, and achieved considerable notoriety by his services to the Government in the examination of seminary priests and others suspected of favouring the cause of Rome.

Excellent scholar as Branthwaite was, it was not to this that he primarily owed his elevation to the mastership. His appointment was intended as a rebuff to the fellows for a certain informality in their election of a successor to Dr. Legge. Legge died in the summer vacation, July 12, 1607, at a time when several of the fellows were absent. Dr. John Gostlin was the popular candidate, and by his age and distinction as a physician seemed admirably fitted for the post. The fellows

probably anticipated some Court interference, Gostlin not being in much favour in that quarter, and met in somewhat of a hurry to make their election. They were rather too prompt, it turned out, and met a day before the statutable period had elapsed. Moreover, it was not certain that an actual majority had recorded their votes for Gostlin. Then, when they realized that their action was doubtful, they held a second meeting, and chose Gostlin by a decisive majority. This made matters worse, and brought down upon them the wrath of the Chancellor, Lord Salisbury, who summarily set aside the election, and even hinted at punishment for their illegal action. He condemns the election

'as void and of none effect. If any shall seem to enforce that second election . . . I esteem no otherwise of it than a mere confused and disorderly attempt of a headless body, utterly void by statute, and such an action as casteth no small hazard upon the actors, if in extremity the statutes were pressed against them.'

The Chancellor thereupon appointed William Branthwaite. This was an excellent choice in itself, but,—if one may look for motives other than the best,—it is impossible not to suspect that, besides the definite objection felt to Gostlin, there may have been a wish on the part of the Chancellor to do something for the brother of his useful instrument the Serjeant. The fellows evidently resented the intrusion of an outsider in such an overbearing manner, and after a few years endeavoured to get rid of him by statutable means. They drew up a list of complaints and alleged breaches of rule, and, in accordance with a statute of Bishop Bateman, called upon the Chancellor,—the Earl of

Suffolk,—to expel Dr. Branthwaite. In this they failed, but during the rest of his time there seems to have been harmony in the College.

Dr. Branthwaite died of consumption. Towards the end of 1618, whilst holding the office of Vice-Chancellor, he had to give up all business, and retiring to Badlingham, near Newmarket, he died there about the end of January. All quarrels at an end, he departed in peace with the College, taking an affectionate farewell of the fellows. His learning was beyond dispute, and he was known as a very able and vigilant head of the College, which flourished greatly under his rule. His only fault was, according to the 'Annals,' that he had not the art of avoiding and allaying suspicions and discords. He was buried in the body of the chapel between the tombs of Caius and Legge, but there is no monument or inscription to his memory. There is a portrait of him in our College, and another at Emmanuel.

Dr. Branthwaite was an important benefactor to the College. He left money for the foundation of additional scholarships, as also plate, and a very large and valuable collection of books. This last was so important that a separate catalogue was made of his books, and provisions were laid down by him that certain persons, appointed as his visitors, should annually examine into the condition of this bequest. A feast and commemoration-day were appointed, on which occasion this ceremony should take place.

About this time the last important addition was made to the College buildings—the last, that is, until quite recent times. As has been said above, the increased numbers in residence had already, by 1594,

required some increase of accommodation. For a time this was met by lodging some of the students in the town houses which Caius had bought, facing Trinity Street. But as the numbers became still greater further accommodation became necessary, and fortunately the means were now available for building. These means had been provided by Dr. Legge and Dr. Perse, and consequently the two blocks of buildings thus erected were commonly called after their names. Dr. Legge left his interest in the lease of ground about Newnham Mill, valued at £600; and Dr. Perse, for many years a fellow, and an active and popular medical practitioner, left,—in addition to other very large sums,—£500 'for a convenient building for lodgings and chambers for fellows and scholars.'

These buildings, as Professor Willis has pointed out in the 'Architectural History of Cambridge,' are of great interest. We have the builders' specifications in our treasury, which are extremely minute and full of early technical terms. Moreover, the buildings, or, rather, some of the chambers in them, remained entirely unaltered inside until their destruction in 1868. They consequently enable us to realize in a singularly vivid way some of the conditions of college life in the seventeenth century, when our buildings were probably packed more closely than at any former or subsequent time.

They consisted of two blocks, one facing Trinity Street and the other Trinity Lane, and were called respectively the Legge and the Perse Building. They contained four floors, and on the four staircases there were altogether twenty-eight chambers. Loggan's view

gives a good idea of their general appearance, though they had been coated with plaster about 1815, and the picturesque outline of the original chimneys had been injured about the same time.

The great interest of these buildings in after-days consisted in the illustration they afforded of the domestic life in college in early times. As the writer of this history is one of the now fast-dwindling body who once occupied a set of these rooms, some personal reminiscences may be helpful. What soon struck everyone who lived in these buildings was the fact that in every case the bedroom seemed an afterthought. The same condition, indeed, prevailed elsewhere, as may be seen to this day in some of the rooms in the Caius Court, but it was more evident in the buildings in question. In most cases the bedroom had been obtained by dividing off a portion of the sitting-room by a lath and plaster partition, thus securing just about enough space to contain a bed. In my case, and in one or two others, the sitting-room had been left undisturbed, my bedroom being an attic two floors above. What puzzled me in this bedroom, however, was that, in spite of its small size, nearly one quarter of it was partitioned off and formed a large cupboard,—a very needless thing in a college room. This portion also had a window. Two or three of the attics were thus converted into bedrooms; the others were locked up and entirely disused.

Professor Willis's explanation first threw a light on all this, and a visit to one of the locked-up attics made the arrangement obvious enough. The disused attics were of large size, and in two or three of their corners

were small partitions somewhat like cupboards, each with a window. In size they may have been between a sentry-box and a bathing-machine. As Willis showed us, the room was just a seventeenth-century college chamber unaltered; the cupboards in the corners were the so-called 'studies.' In the centre room lived and slept three or four undergraduates; the studies were quiet corners for them to work in. In some cases a tutor lived with the students,—the rule in our College was that *not more than four* students should thus live together with their tutor. The students had small truckle-beds, which by day-time could be run out of sight under the tutor's bed.

With this clue the arrangement of the other rooms became obvious enough. The bedrooms were of course an afterthought, never contemplated by the original builders. Each room had been made of a fairly large size, with its two, three, or possibly four studies. When the studies were given up in the eighteenth century, or perhaps rather earlier, owing to each student having a room of his own, an alteration had to be made, and it was commonly effected by partitioning off part of the sitting-room. In some cases, however, a small attic at the top had been assigned as the bedroom. Such was my case. My bedroom was simply an ordinary students' chamber of the cheaper kind, probably intended to accommodate two students; the apparent cupboard adjoining it was the 'study,' surviving unaltered.

Another point should be remarked about these rooms. Most of them evidently had fireplaces, as is shown by the chimneys. But some of them,—those,

for instance, in the attics,—certainly had not. In my bedroom, for example, which was under the sloping roof, and where the only window was to the north, there was no trace of a fireplace, and never could have been. As it happened, I was there during the winter of 1854-55, long remembered as the 'Crimean winter.' For several weeks the water in the jug was frozen into an almost solid block. This was quite tolerable for one who merely went up to sleep from a warm sitting-room; but it must have involved a very different experience for those who once had to spend their whole day in that chamber as well as sleep there at night. Times had been rougher still a century earlier, and the students even poorer, and we can well understand what Dr. Leaver, of St. John's, said of the hardships of poor students in his day. He tells how, when they had finished their day's work, 'they were fain to go into the Court, and walk or run up and down half an hour to get an heat in their feet when they go to bed.' The students who slept two in a bed, as they sometimes did till much later than this, must have had the best of it at such times.

There is no evidence as to the exact time when the old arrangements were abandoned, but it must have been towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the numbers were fast falling off, and all necessity for economizing space was over. By 1702 the attics were quite disused, as there is an entry in our bursar's book for 'locks and keys for the cocklofts in Dr. Legge's building.' The last change of the kind above referred to (the adaptation of a bedroom) was made quite lately in the second-floor room over the Gate of

Virtue. For nearly two centuries this had been used as the College Treasury, and afterwards for some years as a lecture room, and accordingly no necessity had arisen for any alteration in its original arrangement. In 1891 it was converted into a student's room, and the question as to sleeping accommodation at once occurred. As in former days, the difficulty was solved by partitioning off a small space from the sitting-room.

The total number of rooms was now very considerable, and the College stood henceforth in the relative position of third or fourth in the University, which it has ever since occupied. In the Gonville Court were about twenty chambers, the same number in the Caius Court, and about twenty-eight in the new buildings. The exact number cannot be assigned, as there is some doubt about the occupation of some of the lofts, but it must have been somewhat under seventy. What number of fellows, scholars, and students was thus accommodated? Here, again, complete accuracy is unattainable, for no record was preserved as to the residence of members not on the foundation, but we can form a fairly approximate judgment. In 1625 the foundation comprised the Master, 26 Fellows, and 64 scholars. Of the Fellows, 17 at least were tutors with pupils, and others held offices, so that some 24 would be in residence. Of the scholars, practically all would be in college, as their emoluments depended on their residence. There remain the fellow-commoners, pensioners, and sizars. During four successive years 89 altogether were admitted belonging to these classes. Of these, 46 graduated, and must therefore almost certainly have remained in residence; as regards the

other 43, we may assume that about half were in College at any given time. This would make a total resident body of 24 fellows and 132 students. Had these been evenly distributed, it would have implied that two or more had to live in every room. But as the senior fellows and fellow-commoners probably in many cases secured rooms to themselves, it seems plain that these facts bear out what we hear as to the close packing of the poorer students in the less desirable chambers.

As a trifling illustration of early customs, it may be remarked that at this time the authorities instead of suppressing bonfires in college were in the habit of providing them. Ceremonies of all kinds played a more important part in those days than they do now, but with a lot of boys to look after, whose amusements were very few and their holidays very short, the authorities probably found that such relaxations helped to make matters pleasant. Anyhow, at least three bonfires were annually provided at this time: one on November 5; one on March 25, the festal day of the College; and one on the Coronation Day of the King. Charges for the faggots occur in the Bursars' books in each half-year.

John Gostlin, nineteenth Master, 1619-1626, belonged to a Norwich trading family, which supplied several members to the College during successive generations. His father was Robert Gostlin, Sheriff of Norwich in 1570. He entered college in 1582 at the age of sixteen, after being educated at the Cathedral School, and soon became a scholar. He graduated B.A. in 1587, M.A. 1590, and M.D. 1602. He was elected to a fellowship in 1592, and worked for many

years in college, holding most of the offices which were open to a layman.

He seems to have felt his rebuff in the matter of the mastership very acutely, as he at once retired from Cambridge to Exeter, where for several years he practised his profession of medicine. What induced him to select Exeter is not known, for his own personal connections, like those of the College generally, seem to have been almost exclusively East Anglian. He remained in Devonshire for some ten years, and had a large and successful practice. He also became known in other ways, as he was M.P. for Barnstaple in 1614. In the following year he was invited, by the general request of the heads of houses, to come to Cambridge in order to dispute in a medical Act before King James on his visit to the University.

On the death of Branthwaite in 1619, the fellows were again prompt to elect Gostlin, but again they very nearly failed. During this reign, and still more during the next two, the interferences with the colleges were becoming a serious inconvenience. There was always some Court favourite ready, when a vacancy of any kind occurred, to come down to the University armed with a royal mandate for his election, 'all statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.' So it was in this case. Evidently there was some prejudice against Gostlin in Court circles, probably on account of some supposed Romish sympathies. Before the breath was out of Branthwaite's body a letter was received by the fellows, dated from Newmarket, recommending them 'in case your said Master shall depart this life, the choice of such an one into his place

as shall be sound and untainted in religion, as you will be answerable unto us.' As soon as Branthwaite was dead another royal letter was written, ordering the fellows to elect Sir Thomas Wilson, Keeper of State Papers, and stating that 'the King will take no denial.' Somehow the difficulties in the way were surmounted, probably owing to the intervention of Dr. Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, who interceded for his friend, and guaranteed the purity of his faith; and Dr. Gostlin was duly elected February 16, 1618-9.

Branthwaite having died during his tenancy of the Vice-Chancellorship, Gostlin was at once chosen into this post. His joy at his return was extreme, and was enhanced by his election, June 25, 1623, to the Regius Professorship of Physic. This preferment he owed in great part to the influence of Isaac Barrow, M.D., fellow of Trinity, who wrote to the King in his behalf, describing him as 'without question the most worthie man of his profession in the Universitie.' This post he filled with dignity and efficiency. In his inaugural address, preserved in our library together with a number of his lectures, he refers in very strong terms to his time of banishment, 'hidden as in a dark cave in the remotest corner of our Island: an exile, and absent from the Muses and their study: by long disuse forgetful of arts and letters,' etc.

As to Gostlin's character and work, we happen to be unusually well informed, as Mr. Moore, a very distinguished fellow of the College, and for many years the University librarian, has given us a full account of him in the 'Annals.' It is worth quoting from this at some length, as the account shows how great was the in-

fluence of a first-rate Master of a college in those days:

'This year, 1626, was rendered one of mourning for our College by the death of our Master, Dr. Gostlin. This excellent man, between five and six o'clock of the afternoon of the 27th of October, with calmness and humility breathed forth his spirit into the bosom of his Lord. . . . The Schools and the Senate were not the only fields in which he displayed his merit, for he in great measure directed the affairs of the University by his advice. . . . He replenished our exhausted coffers, restored our fallen discipline, encouraged neglected literature, earnestly advocated the privileges of the University, and, in a word, raised it to a most flourishing state. So excellent a Vice-Chancellor did he make, as to deserve to be admired and imitated by all posterity.

'As to what some triflers in physiognomy fancied, that he was inclined to be of a savage disposition, because forsooth his features somewhat resembled those of a lion, their inference was entirely false, and more futile than the science they professed; for although his countenance was such as became a man of enlarged intellect and of invincible resolution, yet the gentleness and flexibility of his manners sufficiently proved the emptiness of their censure. We do not deny that a certain degree of severity did display itself in his manner when inflicting punishment; not that in this there is any fault to lay to his charge, for, being a man of the greatest discretion and judgment, he always kept within the bounds of justice, nay, more of praiseworthy lenity, and by this means he subdued refractory spirits better by his mere nod than others do by flogging and severe penalties. As he was skilful in forming the morals of those under his care, so

was he attentive to form their minds with knowledge. And such success had he in the numerous and well-prepared lectures which he gave in the public schools whilst he held the chair of Medicine, that we cannot but regret that they have not come down to us. There only remain of his writings, as far as we are aware, some MS. speeches made in the public schools, and a short treatise on Comets (apparently lost) which he dedicated to King James, who was curious about that one which appeared in the year 1618, and he gained no small favour from his Majesty on account of it.

'His custom was every year, at the commencement of the first term, to make a Latin oration in the chapel, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the young men with a love of piety, and of inciting them to the pursuit of literature. This most praiseworthy custom he was so unwilling to neglect that a few days before his death, on the 16th October, when in a state of extreme languor, he preached a discourse, like the dirge of a swan, on the most comfortable name of Jesus. It was in every part full of piety, and concluded with these words, "Jesu, Jesu, sis mihi Jesus."

'No sooner had he ended than he withdrew from the chapel, and never after was present at the divine service in public, but in his own rooms he partook of the Lord's Supper with the greatest devotion, on which occasion the fellows also were present as communicants. With this provision for his journey and heavenly medicine, as it were, he furnished his soul as his illness was now increasing on him; and having propped himself in his bed, revised his will, being now at the point of death.'

A similarly touching narrative of his last days was written by one of the fellows, Thomas Wake, and fully

confirms the account of his pious and affectionate disposition. The reference to his lion-like countenance will be understood by those who look at his portrait in the Lodge. With his thick neck, rugged features, and absence of academic costume, it looks more like the picture of an athlete than of a college dignitary.

There is an interesting MS. in our library, called the 'Diary of Dr. Gostlin,' extending from 1619 to his death. It is, however, scarcely a diary in the ordinary sense, but rather an account-book. It shows incidentally that he was a man of considerable wealth, most of this presumably having been acquired by his medical practice. It also gives evidence of his great generosity, as there are repeated entries of sums of money lent to fellows and others. His executor has added at the end a detailed account of the funeral expenses. The funeral was performed at night, as was then often the practice, and the total charges amount to nearly £118. This was of course a large sum in those days, and was made up, amongst other items, of charges for dinner and supper, for robes worn by mourners, numerous rings, and other presents, etc. There is also an entry of £6 10s. 0d. 'to Mr. Scott, the herald, for 60 escutcheons.' It may be remarked that, though he died on October 21, he was not buried until November 16.

Thomas Fuller tells a pleasant story in his 'Worthies' of a trick played on Gostlin by a student. He was then Vice-Chancellor, and it was

'highly penal for any scholar to appear before him in boots, as having more of the gallant than civil student therein. Now a scholar undertook for a small wager to address himself *ochreated* unto the Vice-Chancellor. . . .

He craved his advice for an hereditary numbness in his legs, which made him in his habit to trespass on the statutes, to keep them warm.

He won his wager, and extracted a medical opinion from the Vice-Chancellor.

Like most other Masters of the College, Gostlin was a considerable benefactor. He left sufficient funds to found four scholarships and to establish a commemoration feast. He also aided the small and struggling foundation of St. Catharine's by the bequest of the Bull Inn, to which Fuller alludes: 'If he who giveth a night's lodging to a servant of God shall not lose his reward, certainly he that bestoweth *Inn and all* upon the sons of the prophets shall find full compensation.'

Dr. Gostlin was buried in the chapel near to his friend Dr. Legge. The monument of the latter refers to their union in the words:

> 'Junxit amor vivos, sic jungat terra sepultos.
> Gostlini reliquum cor tibi Leggus habes.'

But for some reason, notwithstanding his elaborate funeral, no monument seems to have been erected to Gostlin himself.

Thomas Batchcroft, twentieth Master, was born at Bexwell, Norfolk, where he was baptized October 14, 1572. His father bore the same name Thomas, and the family seems to have been a very substantial one in the county. They appear in the Heralds' Visitations of Norfolk. Young Thomas was educated at Ely under Mr. Spight, a Master of great reputation at the time. He was elected scholar of our College in 1590 soon after his admission, graduated B.A. 1593, M.A.

1597, and D.D. 1628. He was a fellow of the College from 1595 till his election to the mastership, during which time he held nearly all the various college offices.

He was elected unanimously to the mastership the day after Gostlin's death, viz., October 22, 1626. The Fellows were thus prompt to anticipate the designs of the Court, for again on this occasion it seems that the King had had someone else in view. He caused a letter at once to be sent to the Heads of Houses, complaining that the election had been made 'without due care of the honour of our University, the advancement whereof we have ever endeavoured,' and insisting that inquiry should be made as to what public proof the Master had given as to his sufficiency in learning. The answer seems to have been satisfactory, but at a considerable cost to the College, as there is an entry of £55 in the Bursar's book, 'layd out by the master elected, and the fellows electors, upon attendance of the King's pleasure concerning that election, in part of the expenses.'

Batchcroft's whole life, with the exception of his time of banishment during the Interregnum, was spent in college. He was devoted to its interests, and his efficiency as Bursar is shown by the fact that during the time of his retirement in Suffolk deputations from the College repeatedly waited on him to obtain his advice on matters of business.

Batchcroft was the last Master—at least, so far as our College is concerned—of a type peculiarly distinctive of the seventeenth century. In medieval times, as we have seen, the Master had but little actual work to do in college. There were few or no students to superintend,

and but little property to look after, and consequently he was frequently absent at some distant place of preferment. On the other hand, in comparatively late days the Master was generally married, and, beyond assisting in bursarial business, took but little part in college affairs. In fact, the custom gradually sprang up of treating the post as a sort of retiring place for a tutor. But during the seventeenth century,—indeed, from soon after the Reformation,—the Masters were of a very different type. From Legge to Batchcroft inclusive, whilst being thoroughly competent scholars, they were hard-working tutors, intimately acquainted with all that went on in their college, and stamping the impress of their own character on those under their charge. Besides his admirable business qualifications, Batchcroft seems to have left the character behind him of a singularly amiable and simple-hearted old gentleman. John Aubrey says of him, 'he would visit the boys' chambers, and see what they were studying.' Of one of his students, Charles Scarborough, we are told that

'his genius led him to the mathematics, and he was wont to be reading of Clavius upon Euclid. The old doctor found in the title, *E Societate Jesu*, and was much scandalized at it. Sayd he, By all means leave off this author, and read Protestant mathematical books' ('Brief Lives,' i. 95).

During the latter part of Batchcroft's time things were steadily drifting on towards the outbreak of the Civil Wars. Naturally, no sign of the political divergences was to be found in the quiet haunts of a college,

but about the religious divergences which accompanied them we obtain some significant hints. As to the services in chapel, for instance, it appears that the laxity had advanced to a point which made the subsequent changes under the Commonwealth far less important than might be supposed. Batchcroft himself, though a stanch Royalist, was evidently in utter opposition to the attempts of Laud in the way of Church reform. For instance, in 1637, when a member of the University had preached in support of the necessity of confessing to a priest, Batchcroft was one of the Heads who supported the Vice-Chancellor in insisting on a recantation.

About this period we obtain a very interesting glimpse of the state of feeling and observance as regards religious matters in the University, in a report sent to Archbishop Laud. The following is the principal passage referring to our own College:

'Any man that is not in Holy Orders may execute and read or sing service. And he executes upon weekday with no surplice, which is the practice also in many other colledges. Upon Sundaies and Holydaies they among them that have no mind to put on their surplices, or which will be negligent (which are many) are as free to come into the outward Chappell in their common apparell, and there to sing and answere, to join with the rest within, and performe all service as any in the inward Chappell with surplices are. And if a Communion be, all come in with surplices or without, and sitt together. The Holy Sacrament, when it is administered, is brought down from the Table to every Fellow and Scholler remaining in his owne seate, where the priest strides and crowds over some

of them with the sacred elements in his hands, not without irreverence and trouble. Mr. Cooke, when he was a fellow there, once tooke upon himself to consecrate, and instead of the words, This is my bodie, used aloud, This is my bread, and went on withall (the Master, they say, being present) without any controule or then or since. Some here, of which the master is one, bow not at the name of Jesus, and other reverence is little regarded. Their statutes require that there be an Organ in the Chappell, and that the schollers be skillful in singing. This they neglect, and that they have long since sold away. They make their Chappell a common meeting place for ordinarie dispatch of Leases and such like occasions. And so they do in many colledges besides.'

The following remarks refer to the general state of discipline in the University:

'Fellowes of Colledges and fellow-commoners take themselves generally to have a privilege and immunity from coming to Public Prayers; and the like privilege they use to take for the common and publick table in the Hall. From hence it comes to pass that so many of that ranke are to be founde at those times either in Taverns and Townhouses, or at some pleasant Imployments where they please. The clericall habit appointed for Students is generally neglected. At Trinitie and otherwhiles at Caius they keep their order for their wide Sleeve Gowns, and for their Caps too, when they list to put any on, but for the rest of their garments they are as light and fond as others. . . . Upon Frydays and all Fastingdays the victualling houses prepare Flesh, good store, for all schollers and others that will come or send to them. Upon all such fasting nights in schollers chambers are generally the best suppers of the whole week, and for the

most part of Flesh meate all. We know not what fasting is. This we know, that when the custome is for Pupils to goe to their Tutors for supper money to spend in the Towne, and that their Tutors do commonly allow them twice as much for a fasting night as the Colledge Commons doe any night of the week besides.'

This account is interesting, as it explains the fact that, however hostile a portion of the Fellows may have been to the changes now becoming imminent, the remainder accepted them with indifference, if not with satisfaction. We shall see in the next section what was the general outcome of the war period.

Up to 1637, at any rate, it does not look as if serious doubts were felt as to the stability of the existent order of things, as in this year the chapel was lengthened at considerable cost. An account of this alteration will be found in the description of the chapel.

No account of college life in early days would be complete without some reference to plague time. From the commencement of our personal records in the shape of the 'Gesta,' or reports of the proceedings at college meetings, we find notices such as these:

'*November* 7, 1593.—The plague raging in the town, it was ordered that the scholars and pensioners should be sent by their tutors into the country till January 13.'

'*December* 27, 1593.—The plague still raging, the above order was extended to February 20.'

'*October* 24, 1603.—The plague raging, leave of absence was granted to all on the foundation till January 12.'

'*November* 6, 1605.—Plague again. Leave of absence till January 13.'

'1625.—To the porter for his pains extraordinary in the fear of the Visitation, 40s.'

There was one of these visitations in 1630, and we happen to have on this and a somewhat later occasion unusually full information of the measures resorted to. To appreciate the terror which was felt, the reader must recall what has been said above as to the closeness with which the students were packed in college. Two, three, or four of them were living together in the same chamber, and there was no spare room anywhere for isolation. The town houses hemmed them in, and were in some places built close up to the College walls. No wonder that the College was treated like a besieged city. Nearly all the tutors betook themselves into the country with their pupils, some to neighbouring villages, others into Norfolk and Suffolk. For instance, in the parish register of Coton, near Cambridge, there is an entry in 1630 that Matthew Stokes, Fellow of the College, gave some Communion ornaments, 'in gratitude for his escape, when he retired there in the plague of pestilence.' The University was thus almost entirely deserted, so that, as one of our annalists (Gostlin) says, 'nec Academiam in Academia, nec Cantabrigiam in Cantabrigia videre licuit aut invenire.' All Acts, University and College, were suspended, and leave of absence granted to everyone without loss of stipend or other privileges. For the few whom duty or poverty forced to remain, special regulations were made.

'That yf it please God that any in the college should be visited with the pest, that convenient nurses, physicke, and advice be provided for them. . . . That the cook

and his family be received into the college, to provide commons for those few which should venture to stay; and that Miles, and a scholar, be in the Butteryes. That all the Bedmakers, except two, be immediately turned out of the college, and be allowed two shillinges apiece every weeke. That a man be hired for 5s. a week for attending constantly at the Gate, to goe of errands into the town.'

The gates were ordered to be locked day and night, and no one to leave the College except for the most urgent reasons, and for the shortest possible time. At last, on November 29, 1630, there is an entry in the 'Annals': 'God, in His blessing, looked down on the miseries of Cambridge, so that, the plague extinguished and health restored, the students flock back from every quarter and resume their intermitted studies.' Generally these stringent precautions were effective, but sometimes, as in 1636,—which was again, like 1666, a bad year in Cambridge,—the disease broke in, and naturally under the circumstances several fell victims. In that year one Fellow died of it, as well as three students.

One slight increase to the accommodation afforded in college was made in 1635 by the erection of a building facing Trinity Lane, and occupying part of the site of our present library. It contained four 'cubicles' with ten 'studies'; that is, in accordance with the explanation given above, there were four main rooms, the two larger of which had each three reading-boxes partitioned off, and the two smaller two each. This building continued in use till the present hall and library were built in 1853.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR AND INTERREGNUM: 1642-1660

'"Dost thou remember Dr. Purefoy and Caius College?" "Marry do I," said the Doctor, thrusting his arm through the Presbyterian divine's, and guiding him to a seat apart from the other prisoners. "Remember Caius College? Aye, and the good ale we drank."'—'*Woodstock*,' chap. xxxvi.

THE general changes introduced into Cambridge by the revolution in political and religious matters were hardly so extensive, perhaps, as they are commonly supposed to have been; at least, such is the impression left by the study of our own College records. These records, it may be remarked, unlike those in episcopal and parochial custody, are entirely undisturbed during this period.

The first intimation afforded of any new kind of interference from without is in 1642, when by an order of the House of Commons the obligation of wearing the surplice in chapel was rescinded. But the practical effect of this need not have been great, for, as we have seen, there had been for some years almost entire license in this respect. In 1644 came an order from the Earl

of Manchester, at that time in full power at Cambridge, demanding a return of the names of all the Fellows, and especially the names 'of all such in your Colledge as have practised bowinge at the nameing of the name of Jesus, adoration towards the East, or any cerimony in divine service not warranted by Lawe.' Dr. Batchcroft replies, July 20, 1644, that the practices referred to 'have been soe by degrees left, as there are none in our whole Society that doe use or practice any of them.' By his return as to the names of the Fellows, we ascertain that the expulsions had already begun then, as he gives the names of eight 'ejected.' This, however, is far from being a final list of the sufferers. Within a few years of this date would have to be added the names of the Master and four Fellows at least, besides two others who, if not actually ejected, were treated as delinquents and had their goods sold.

These ejections certainly seem to have been carried out in a harsh and summary manner. The following is the form of the earliest:

'*April* 9, 1644.—Whereas by Ordinance of Parliament, entitled an Ordinance for Regulating the Universities, . . . power is given me (Earl of Manchester) to eject such fellows as are scandalous . . . I do eject Mr. Buxton, Mr. Loveland, and Mr. Watson . . . for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant . . . and for several other misdemeanours: which parties are hereby required not to continue in the same University above the space of three days.'

It should be noted that the corresponding intruded Fellows were not placed at the bottom of the list as

though newly elected, but were generally treated as substitutes of those ejected, and therefore placed over the heads of several of the seniors. When the President or Vice-Master was thus expelled, a Mr. Byne, who had only just graduated as B.A., was actually put in his place for a time at the head of the list of seniors. This would naturally cause much friction and annoyance in college.

The troubles of Dr. Batchcroft seem to have begun a little earlier than this. Already by May, 1643, it appears that a sum of £150 had been levied upon him, and an estate belonging to him at Milton, near Cambridge, had been put under sequestration. About the beginning of 1645 he had to compound for his delinquency with the committee sitting in Goldsmiths' Hall. The total inventory for his furniture in the Lodge amounts to £20, more than half of this being for his books. The goods were redeemed by himself.

According to Walker, Dr. Batchcroft was spared from ejection for some time owing to his too great compliance with the times, as

> 'he presented a certificate from leading Parliamentarians testifying to his affection for Parliament; to his refusal to send any college plate to the King; and to his contributing large sums of money to the Parliament. They withal gave him the character of a person of great honesty and integrity, and of a most pious, grave and upright conversation' ('Sufferings,' etc.).

Whether owing to his laxity, from the high Cavalier point of view, or to some other cause, Batchcroft held on for some years longer, not being ejected until April 13, 1649. Possibly the execution of the King

gave the final impulse, but he cannot have had a pleasant life in college during these latter years, for all his old friends had been removed, and as years passed the dominant religious and political views naturally became more strongly represented throughout the University.

Batchcroft had some private fortune, and was therefore not put to the shifts which most of his fellow-sufferers had to encounter. He retired to Wangford, near Brandon, where he had relations and friends. Here he lived in quiet retirement for about eleven years, and, holding no preferment, seems to have suffered no disturbance from those in authority. He lived long enough to return to college in triumph. His successor, Dell, as we shall presently see, took flight at the Restoration, May 11, 1660. The Fellows at once deputed four of their number to entreat Batchcroft to return. This was, of course, intended as a token of personal esteem, and a sign of political triumph, rather than as the choice of a ruler, for the old Master was already over eighty-eight. He only stayed in college for a few weeks, arranged some business details, and then returned to his friends. As Gostlin, one of the Fellows, says:

'The good man returned, already weak and ill. He did not remain many days in our midst, but having appointed a president he retired again to the friends and relations with whom he had lived during his exile, and there peacefully and calmly passed away.'

He resigned the mastership December 1, 1660, and died towards the close of 1662, being probably buried

at Wangford. He left by will a small estate to the College, the proceeds to be mainly devoted to the increase of the Greek and Hebrew lectureships, the rest of his property being given to his relatives. We have his portrait in the Lodge.

William Dell, twenty-first Master, was intruded into Dr. Batchcroft's place by the Parliamentary authorities, May 4, 1649. He was in many ways a remarkable man, and signally illustrative of the times. Like so many of those who were brought in to replace the ejected, he was bred in Emmanuel College, that stronghold of the Puritanism of the day. He was admitted there in 1624, graduated B.A. in 1628, and M.A. in 1631. Soon after this he was ordained, and was instituted to the rectory of Yelden, Beds, early in 1641, on the presentation of Oliver St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. This living he retained until 1662, when he was ejected.

About the beginning of 1646 he became a chaplain in the Parliamentary army, the only institution in the country for which he seems to have entertained any real respect. In the dedication of a sermon preached before the army at Oxford, June 7, 1646, he says:

'There hath been a very sensible presence of God with us; we have seen His goings, and observed His very footsteps, for He hath dwelt amongst us, and marched at the head of us, and led us step by step from Naseby to Leicester, and from thence to Langport, and Bridgewater, and Bath and Sherborne, and Bristol, and the Devizes, and Winchester, and Bazing, and Dartmouth, and Exeter, and into Cornwall, and back again to Oxford.'

Presumably this is a narrative of his own experience. He officiated at the marriage of General Ireton, June 15, 1646, with Bridget, daughter of Cromwell. On June 20 following he entered Oxford with the army, and forthwith took up the articles of surrender to the Houses of Parliament. For this the House voted him a sum of £50. According to Wood's 'Fasti,' Dell remained in Oxford for some months, and became conspicuous by forcing himself as a preacher into several of the churches. There are other indications of his prominence in his party. For instance, he was one of four ministers who presented themselves at Whitehall on the day of the King's execution, and pressed their religious services upon him. Again, he was the chosen champion of the Independent party as against the Presbyterians, in which capacity he preached before Parliament, November 25, 1646. His opponent was Mr. Christopher Love.

With these antecedents, it is not surprising that his name should have occurred to the Earl of Manchester as that of one who deserved reward. As a matter of fact, he seems to have been petitioned for by the Fellows. At this time, however, owing to several ejections, the number of senior Fellows had been reduced to nine, of whom four had been intruded by the Parliamentary Committee. Two of these, French and Harrington by name, had served in the army, and were doubtless acquainted with Dell's reputation.

In his capacity of Master, his career seems an almost entire blank. By the end of his time, the great majority of the Fellows must have been introduced under his influence, or have been to some extent in sympathy with

him; but we look in vain for any signs of admiration or respect towards him. He resided very little. He was, it must be remembered, the first married Master, and doubtless the Lodge was not fitted up for domestic life. But he was extremely negligent in his attendance at College meetings, being absent from considerably more than half of those held during his time of office. During some entire years he was only present for a few weeks. Apparently, he left his wife and young family at Yelden Rectory, but did not reside there much himself: probably his time was mostly occupied in preaching before the army, or exercising the function of chaplain to the generals. He secured, however, a considerably larger stipend than previous Masters, for during several years he received an augmentation to his salary of £60 from the Parliamentary Committee. When in residence he repeatedly preached before the University at St. Mary's, using these opportunities, as we shall presently see, for the bitterest denunciations against the entire tone and practice of the place.

Dell was not, strictly speaking, ejected at the Restoration, but may rather be said to have taken flight as soon as he saw how matters were turning out. The entry in our 'Gesta' for May 11, 1660,—three days after the proclamation of the King at Westminster,—is simply: 'Mr. Dell sent a resignation of his place which he enjoyed as Master of the same.' It must be remembered that he still had his rectory at Yelden, as well as private property of his own close by, and he naturally preferred to retire quietly thither rather than wait to be expelled.

At Yelden he remained for two years, until his ejection, in 1662, under the Act of Uniformity. His

character, as estimated by 'the aggrieved parishioner,' is worth quoting; from what we know of his printed opinions, there seems but little exaggeration in what is stated:

'He has reported that the King and his followers were like the Devil and his angels, and has approved of the murder of the King, and the taking away of the House of Lords. He has for twelve years past neglected the due administration of the Sacraments, in consequence of which many children are unbaptized; he has ceased to sing any psalms or read any chapters in the Holy Bible on the Lord's Day in the congregation. . . . He has entrapped the gentry of the county into discourse, and then given false information against them. He hath declared in the public congregation that he had rather hear a plain countryman that came from the plough speak in the church than the best orthodox minister that was in the county. Upon Christmas Day last, one Bunyan, a tinker, was countenanced and suffered to speak in his pulpit to the congregation, and no orthodox minister did officiate in the church that day. . . . Before the horrid murder of the late King, he declared publicly in the congregation that the King was no King to him—Christ was his King' (Petition to House of Lords, June 20, 1660).

The last eight years of his life were spent at Westoning, adjoining Yelden, where he owned some property. They were disturbed by a long quarrel, and finally by a lawsuit, with the College. Dell was charged with having cut down trees and removed a barn from some adjacent College land, and with having fraudulently renewed leases without fine on College lands to someone who, it was asserted, was a mere nominee of his own.

The case was decided, in 1667, in favour of the College, and Dell was adjudged to pay £120. Thus closed his connection with Cambridge.

A curious tradition long prevailed about his burial, but recent examination of the evidence tends to show that the story had arisen out of the crystallization of party animosity about the nucleus of a word. By his will (proved P.C.C., June 8, 1670) he desired to be decently buried. Popular opinion, however, disposed of his body otherwise, and declared that by his own wish he was placed in unconsecrated ground, in the midst of a field, at Westoning. The name of the field, Grave's Close, was appealed to as evidence of the fact; and Cole even repeats a story how a descendant of the Master used to remark, in passing the field, 'There lies my old rogue of a grandfather.' It turns out, however, from an inspection of our old leases, that the ground already went by the name of Grave's Close, doubtless from the name of some previous owner or tenant, at the time it was bought during Dell's life. The property afterwards came into possession of the College, and, when a few years ago the site of the supposed burial was sold for brick-making, it was thought reasonable to make a preliminary search there. No trace of a skeleton could be found, and it seems likely that the story was a Royalist myth evolved out of the recognised name Grave's Close, and Dell's known aversion to certain Christian ceremonies.

During his active life, Dell was almost incessantly involved in controversy, and there were few indeed, either in Church or State, with whom he found himself in sympathy. The 'antichristian church of the pope

and his prelates' was, of course, 'the Beast'; and 'they that apostatize to this false religion are as sure to be damned as if they were in hell already,' as he assures us. Nor does 'the church of the bishops and that of the presbyters,'—as an Independent, he seems to put them on the same footing,—fare any better. They are the image of the Beast, and due to receive his mark. With regard to the Universities, 'in their present state they are the residue of the hour and power of darkness upon the nations.' Speaking from the pulpit of St. Mary's, he lets himself go against the institution which gave him so much of his position and income:

'In thee is found the blood of prophets and of saints. Thy human learning, to wit, thy philosophy and school divinity, and the false ministry that they have set up, and the false Christians that have proceeded from that ministry, have devized and executed all these murders and massacres on the true saints of God.'

This was in 1653, when one would have thought that even such 'stews of antichrist and dens of thieves,' as he terms them, would have been deprived of most of their power to do mischief. He could not even agree with his brother Independents. The occasion of his dispute with Sydrach Sympson is amusing. Sympson was the intruded Master of Pembroke, and in this capacity, preaching at St. Mary's, ventured 'to prove the lawfulness and religiousness of the present Universities, and the usefulness and necessity of human learning to the Church and ministry of the New Testament.' This was more than Dell could bear, and he attacked what he called such 'gross and antichristian errors,' and published a detailed 'confutation' of the opinions

of his brother Head. The only men for whom he shows any sign of admiration are some of the army leaders—in particular, 'the truly precious in God's eyes, and most acceptable amongst the brethren,' the Lord General Cromwell, and 'that most faithfull and worthy general, Sir Thomas Fairfax.'

His character altogether is not a pleasing one. We may wish to believe that much of the animosity towards him felt by those of the College who returned after the Restoration was due to party feeling; but it is impossible to deny that he must have been a very awkward man to live with or to live under. The judgment of Baxter is as follows:

'Yea, such a man as Mr. Dell, the chaplain of the Army, who I think neither understood himself nor was understood by others any further than to be one who took reason, sound doctrine, order, and concord to be the intolerable maladies of Church and State, because they were the greatest strangers to his mind.'

Dell was a voluminous author, and several of his works went through more than one edition. This was especially the case with his 'Doctrine of Baptisms,' in which he practically rejected that Sacrament. Owing to the interest in the subject taken by the Quakers, this volume has been repeatedly republished.

On one subject Dell's opinions deserve notice. In spite of his repeated assertion of the general 'anti-christian' character of the University,—'And thou, University, hast, like thy own mother Babylon, mystery written on thy forehead,'—he made one strikingly original suggestion for its reform. What he proposed

was a scheme not unlike that embodied in the modern provincial colleges. Instead of the students coming from a distance to the University, he would have had the University broken up and distributed amongst a number of the larger cities and towns. Of course these were to be under the control of 'godly and learned men,' and the subjects were to be carefully restricted. Degrees in divinity are a 'mere invention of antichrist'; but as to 'logic, arithmetic, geometry, geography, and the like, which carry no wickedness in them,' it is different. In a reformed way, Physic and Law might also be taught, as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The principal novelty about the scheme was, however, his suggestion that the students should not quit their manual or other employments. They should 'spend some part of the day in learning or study, and the other part in some lawful calling, or one day in study and another in business.' In other words, what he proposed was the system of evening classes, as carried out at Owens College, at Birmingham, and elsewhere. What was to be done for those students—then the great majority—who came from the small towns and villages, he does not say.

The question of most interest during this period, to the general reader, will probably be the amount of disturbance in college life caused by the political and religious changes. So far as available evidence goes, this disturbance was decidedly less than is commonly supposed. Cambridge altogether, we may presume, was less upset than the sister University, for it was never a walled town, and was occupied from the first by the Parliament. Moreover, none of the fights during the

war took place in its neighbourhood. And, as compared with other colleges in Cambridge, I suspect that ours got off rather easily. For instance, in some colleges the presence of the army, during the years 1643-45, must have caused considerable disturbance and destruction, the soldiers being in several cases quartered in the students' chambers. St. John's, indeed, was partly converted into a prison for Royalists. The only reference that is to be found in our records to the presence of the army is as late as 1652, when there is an entry of £1, as 'paid to the officers of the Army for a composition from quartering of soldiers in the College.' Trifling incidents are sometimes more significant than serious ones, so it deserves notice that the entry 'for a bonefier upon the King's Coronation day,' in our Bursar's book, is duly repeated in each of the three years 1643, 1644, and 1645, and again, strange to say, in 1647. Considering that Cambridge was swarming with Parliamentary soldiers during the earlier of these years, it certainly does not look as if the College was subject to any severe repression. Batchcroft, it must be remembered, was still master at this period.

The really important change was in the personal element, and this was in the aggregate a considerable change. The Master was expelled, and certainly twelve of the Fellows—probably, indeed, one or two more than this. For some years also there was considerable interference on the part of the Parliamentary Committee for regulating the Universities. In several instances they appointed the Fellows; they forbade Fellows and scholars to be absent without leave; they occasionally augmented the stipends. But this interference only lasted a few

years, and was evidently by no means to the taste even of those who owed their own introduction to the College to the same source. Thus, in 1651 the Master and one of the Fellows were deputed to go to London to reverse, if possible, the recent appointment of two Fellows by the Committee. The expulsions doubtless caused great individual hardship, and several excellent scholars were thus lost to the College. Prominent amongst these were William Moore, University librarian—'the model librarian,' as Mr. H. Bradshaw calls him—and a most munificent donor of MSS. to our own library; and Robert Sheringham, a distinguished Orientalist. But on the whole the class of men admitted under the Commonwealth does not materially differ from that which found admission on the previous system. There was nothing like the shameless attempt to introduce unfit men which made the reign of James II. so notorious. Some of the men introduced from without were not Cambridge graduates; but they were all men of University training, and several of them were good scholars. They seem, as a rule, to have settled down quietly, and to have done the work assigned to them cheerfully and conscientiously. Henry Jenks, for instance, was appointed Fellow in 1653. He was originally from Aberdeen; but he soon made himself thoroughly at home, and remained Fellow till his death in 1697. He was a man of mark, Professor at Gresham College, and Fellow of the Royal Society. His work 'The Christian Tutor' is dated 'from my beloved Colledg of Caius.' Owen Stockton, of Christ's, appointed in 1651, and one against whose appointment the College protested, was a Puritan of some reputation. His affection to his new

College, many years after he left it, was shown by the bequest of his books, and of £500 to found a scholarship. Francis Marsh, admitted in 1651, was of Emmanuel, but showed, from the first, none of the proclivities one expects in a man trained in that hot-bed of Puritanism. He married a daughter of Jeremy Taylor, and became Archbishop of Dublin. To what extent the men admitted under the Commonwealth were ejected at the Restoration will be recorded in the next section.

Within the College domestic events seem to have gone on much as they did before, none of our records showing the slightest breach of continuity. All the lectures, payments of fees, conferring of (lay) degrees, and so forth, remained unaltered, and there does not seem a trace of the introduction of any new schemes and methods. The Master might storm as he pleased, but neither he nor any of those under him appears to have made the slightest attempt to introduce reforms. Even in the chapel service the change was less than might have been expected. There is an entry of 4s. 2d. 'for five Directories' in 1645, this being the date, presumably, at which the Common Prayer was discontinued. The office of chaplain was, however, kept up as before, but it seems as if the Fellows generally took a larger part in the service. For instance, we have such entries as these in our 'Gesta':

'*July* 19, 1653.—That all exercises, whether praying, problems, or commonplaces, be performed according to seniority in turn; and that in problems the next senior do reply.'

'*September* 27, 1656.—That Mr. Bolt do supply the vacancies of prayer in chapel; and that every Fellow's course be supplied by him when it falls, unless it be otherwise provided for.'

Mr. Bolt was a junior Fellow, and not in Orders; but he can hardly have been a Puritan, for he was very popular in the College at the Restoration. 'Problems' and 'commonplaces' were the names given to the short religious and moral addresses delivered in the chapel. Of course the above notices indicate a decided increase of influence on the lay side, but it must be remembered that the mere fact of laymen giving such addresses was nothing new. It had been a common practice from the time of Dr. Caius. The extracts given on a former page will show how extremely irreverent, from the modern point of view, the performances in chapel had become even in the days of Laud and under a clerical Head.

It may seem surprising that even the number of students in our College was not much reduced, if we take into consideration the whole Interregnum period. One can only suppose that the sons of the Royalist squires and parsons had their places supplied by those whose fathers were in sympathy with the dominant opinions; or that, more likely, the great majority of parents did not feel sufficiently keen on either side to affect them in their decision as to their sons' education. There was, it is true, a decided falling off in the numbers towards the middle of the period. In 1652 it was decreed that 'every fellow, scholar, and student have a chamber *de proprio*,' which implies a very serious

diminution. But this can only have been temporary, for there is an order dated October 27, 1659, that 'whereas the butler, for some years past, upon consideration of the emptiness of the college, and consequent diminution of his wages and avayles, had £10 *per annum* allowed him . . . the college being again well replenished and multiplied,' the allowance was to be withdrawn. Speaking statistically, the average number of admissions between 1620 and 1642 was thirty-seven; the average number between 1642 and 1660 was twenty-five. It may be added that this is just about the proportion shown in the University generally. Taking the test of the B.A. degrees annually conferred, it is found that these fell during the same period from 260 to 182.

Some of those who live in an ancient college may like to know how their predecessors fared 250 years ago. When the great alternative was set before them, which side did they take, and in what relative numbers? Of course complete accuracy or finality is out of the question here, but the inquiry may nevertheless be answered in the case of a sufficiently large number to enable us to form a very fair judgment. When our admission register is thus examined, the picturesque and dramatic interest of this period is very great. We look through the names of the youths who came up as freshmen to worship together in the same chapel and to dine together in the same hall. We turn to examine their careers, and find them drifting widely apart until in a few years one of them, as a 'godly and orthodox divine,' displaces his old comrade who has now become a 'malignant;' or, perhaps, as a Bishop or official of the Restoration, ejects his contemporary from his living. It

is worth continuing the reference to 'Woodstock' prefaced to this section. When Dr. Rochecliffe and Nehemiah Holdenough met in the guardroom as prisoners under sentence of death, they quickly recognised each other, and the memory of their youthful pranks broke into the stern reality of their position. '"Dost thou remember Dr. Purefoy and Caius College?"* "Marry do I," said the doctor, thrusting his arm through the Presbyterian divine's, and guiding him to a seat apart from the other prisoners, who witnessed this scene with much surprise. "Remember Caius College? Ay, and the good ale we drank, and our parties to Mother Huffcap's." "Vanity of vanities," said Holdenough, smiling kindly at the same time, and still holding his recovered friend's arm enclosed and handlocked in his. "But the breaking of the Principal's orchard so cleanly done," said the doctor; "it was the first plot I ever framed, and much work I had to prevail on thee to go into it." "Oh, name not that iniquity," said Nehemiah' (chap. xxxvi.).

Meetings of this kind must have been frequent, considering how the vicissitudes of after-life ranged old comrades on opposite sides. Thus L. Playters, Rector of Uggeshall, Suffolk, was sequestered in 1644, and his place was soon taken by his old college contemporary, H. Younger, as Holdenough had succeeded Rochecliffe. Edmund Hickhorngill and William Dell were chaplains in the Parliamentary Army, and Thomas Gunter

* This reference to Caius, perhaps the only reference Scott has made to any Cambridge college, may not be altogether accidental. Dr. Purefoy and Mother Huffcap are, of course, inventions; but there *is* a well-known old apple-tree in the President's garden.

chaplain to General Monk, whilst William Watts long held the same office to Prince Rupert. Thomas Bedingfield and Edmund Reeve had not improbably known each other in college, for they were both within a short period pensioners at the same table. They both became judges. Reeve sided with the Parliament, and sat alone at Westminster when the King's proclamation to adjourn to Oxford was received. Bedingfield, 'upon the murder of King Charles, laid down his place and all public employments, and retired into private life.' Sometimes the subsequent meeting was of those who were in agreement. Thus, Thomas Punter afforded a refuge to his old tutor, William Blanks, and was reported in consequence to the Parliamentary Committee as 'harbouring malignant priests.'

As regards the statistics in detail, a brief summary may be of interest. Three former students, at least, were killed in battle on the Royalist side—viz., Sir Thomas Metham, of Newburgh, Yorkshire, at Marston Moor; Maurice Baud, of Somerby, Lincolnshire, at Naseby; and Thomas Catelyn, of Kirby Cane, Norfolk, at Newbury in 1644. Amongst laymen who took a more or less prominent part on either side, I find the names of thirty-five amongst the Royalists, and ten for the Parliament. The great majority of the former are to be found amongst the lists of compounders as fined for their loyalty, and include many names of prominent families in the country, such as Brudenel, De Grey, Bedingfield, Cotton. Amongst them are Sir Francis Crawley, Judge of the Common Pleas, who joined the King at Oxford; Sir Thomas Brudenel, imprisoned in the Tower; William Harvey, the physiologist, present

at Edgehill; William Mallory, of Studley, Yorks, fined £2,219 for having raised forces against the Parliament; Sir Francis Leek, two of whose sons were killed in battle, fined £18,287 'for adhering to the King in Newark garrison'; Thomas Bedingfeld, who gave up his judgeship on the execution of the King; Thomas Peck, of Spixworth, one of the garrison at Basing House; Edmund De Gray, Major in the Royalist army; William Lewin, former Fellow, with the King at Naseby; and so on. On the Parliamentary side the most prominent were Edmund Reeve, Judge of the Common Pleas, mentioned above; William Steele, Attorney-General for the Parliament at the time the King was condemned, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Thomas Wodehouse, of Kimberley, member of the Long Parliament; Ralph Rimer, treasurer of the Commissioners for Yorkshire.

The clergy, of course, furnish the far greater number of those whose names can be assigned with any confidence to one side or the other. So far as I have been able to trace them, at least ninety-one can be found as being definitely on the Church side. Nearly all of these were sequestered from their livings: some were imprisoned, others had to fly the country. The list includes men of every rank and position in the Church. Far the most conspicuous of those in this class are Jeremy Taylor, and John Cosin, the great Bishop of Durham. On the other hand, as definitely to be assigned to the Puritan side are forty-six or more. Several of these left the country under the repressive rule of Laud and Wren; others were ejected in 1660 or 1662. To this class also must be assigned men like

Glisson, the great physiologist, who was an elder of the Presbyterian *Classis* in Suffolk. Some of the known names here in the annals of Nonconformity are John Tillinghast, a Fifth Monarchy man, minister of Trunch, Norfolk; Alexander Grose, 'a zealous and mighty man in the Presbyterian way,' according to Wood; William Sheldrake, for many years a minister at Yarmouth; Thomas Tailor, afterwards minister at Bury St. Edmunds, where he was imprisoned in 1662; Thomas Allen, who fled to New England in 1638, and returned as a minister to Norwich in 1651; William Sparrow, Edward Barker, Edmund Whincop, and others. All of these men were graduates of the College.

There is a third and much larger class than either of these, consisting of those who, whatever their predilections may have been, were prepared to concur with either side rather than abandon their cure or ministry. About 128 may be referred to this class. Many of these retained their livings, as far as can be ascertained, throughout the whole succession of changes, others died undisturbed during the Commonwealth; but in all cases it appears that they continued their ministry under different rules. Their preliminary training was, of course, very various. Most of them had been episcopally ordained, like Dell, but accepted more or less willingly the Presbyterian or Independent rule; others were ordained during the Interregnum by some dispossessed Bishop (these are much more numerous than might be supposed), but submitted to the Parliamentary system; others were admitted by Presbyterian ordination, and after 1660 obtained Episcopal Orders. But in any case none of these can be claimed as definitely on either side.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESTORATION—TEMPORARY RECOVERY

'That the auncient custom of observing fasting nights on Frydayes and Saturdayes and Holy-day eves be revived; but that there shall be suppers provided in the Hall those nights for the schollars at the value of 8d. per messe, but no fleshe' (College order, 1661).

Robert Brady: 1660-1700

The remainder of the century, after the Restoration, is mainly a period of recovery in the University. As stability was secured, the number of students began to increase, until in 1672 the total was not very far short of what it had been in 1622. The general conditions also of college and University life were apparently very similar to those which had prevailed before the disturbance. The chapel service was, of course, replaced on the old footing; the surplice was made compulsory on Sundays and festivals, and probably the old custom of laymen giving addresses at the service was gradually discontinued. Fasting was reintroduced, as shown by the order mentioned above.

It seems that the rule before the Interregnum had been

to provide no supper whatever on these nights. Amongst the minor customs still retained may be mentioned the reading of a chapter in the Latin Bible by one of the scholars during meal-time; this was adhered to during some years of the eighteenth century. The general conditions of college life began now to grow somewhat easier and more luxurious. From this time onwards there can have been no necessity for two or more students to share the same room, and the attics which had no fireplaces were either locked up or used only as bedrooms. The custom was now introduced also of wainscoting the rooms, which had hitherto shown only the stone or plaster walls, with probably here and there some kind of cheap tapestry or other hangings. An order was passed, for instance, October 24, 1696, that 'if any Fellow desired to have his chamber wainscoted, and it was done at the College charge, the common chest should receive yearly after the rate of £5 *per cent.* for their money so laid out.' It must have been at this date that the fine oak panelling now to be seen in several of the upper rooms in the Caius Court was introduced.

In the case of the colleges, as in that of Church livings, the first business after the Restoration was that of ejection and restitution; though, as will be seen, there was very little of the former. The state of things in the spring of 1660 was as follows: There was the Master, Mr. Dell, and there were twenty-three Fellows. Of this whole body not one had been a Fellow at the commencement of the disturbances in 1642. Two of their number, the Master and Mr. Wheeler (the President), had been intruded by the Parliamentary Committee; the others appear to have been elected by the Fellows

themselves, in the ordinary way. Of the twelve or fourteen who had been ejected for their Royalist or Church sympathies, several had died in the interval, or had become ineligible on account of marriage or the acceptance of preferment. There were still, however, at least five who were eligible, 'qui temporum et matrimonii fata evaserant,' as our annalist puts it.

Dell, as we have said, resigned instantly, and Batchcroft was re-elected for a short time. As regards the Fellows no immediate change was made. Before long, however, one of their number was formally ejected. This was Mr. Wheeler, the senior member and President. The stated grounds for his expulsion were that 'he had been chosen into a Fellowship that was lawfully possest by another,' and that 'he hath been a great dishonour to the Colledge, and is yet esteemed so.' He is the only Fellow of whose expulsion we have any record, though it is probable that two others, namely, Mitford and Allen, who disappear from the list about this time, did not depart entirely of their own free will. The other senior Fellows obtained letters from the King 'confirming' them in their places. As regards the junior Fellows no such step was considered necessary; their position and privileges being somewhat inferior, it seems to have been considered sufficient that they had been elected in the ordinary way by the Master and Fellows.

As regards the Fellows who had been ejected, five were replaced—two at once, and the others at the earliest opportunity. The former—William Blanks and Robert Sheringham, both rather distinguished men—were replaced at the head of the list of seniors, probably on

account of their age and standing; the other three were admitted as juniors. One of the latter was Richard Watson, a known author and divine, who had been for several years chaplain to General Lord Hopton. He gave the College considerable trouble by insisting on heavy compensation for his loss in respect of Fellowship, College rooms, etc., claims which could not be admitted.

As has been said, Batchcroft retired a few weeks after his re-election. He was succeeded by Robert Brady, the twenty-second Master, one of the most learned in our list. He was a son of Thomas Brady, attorney-at-law, of Denver, Norfolk, where he was born about 1627. He was bred at the Grammar-school at Downham, and admitted sizar in our College February 20, 1644. He was a scholar of the College from 1644 to 1650, but never obtained a Fellowship, his strong Royalist opinions probably standing in his way. He graduated B.A. 1648, M.B. 1653, and M.D., by royal mandate, September 5, 1660. We have no information as to his career during the Commonwealth period, but he was probably practising medicine somewhere in England; he certainly continued to practise till towards the close of his life. He was appointed Master of the College December 1, 1660. In 1677 he became Regius Professor of Physic in the University, an office which he held till his death. He was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians November 12, 1680; and was successively physician in ordinary to Charles II. and James II. In the latter capacity he was one of those who deposed, October 22, 1688, to the birth of the Prince. He was member for the University in the

Parliament of 1681, and again in that of 1685-87. For many years,—probably from about 1685,—he was Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, in which capacity, as we can see from the evidence of his printed works, he was a very careful and laborious student of the archives under his charge.

As regards his election to the mastership, he was apparently not the man whom the Fellows would have chosen of their own free will. As may be supposed, the country was at that time full of those who considered that they had strong claims for office of one kind or another. Amongst these was a claimant for the mastership, named Edmund Barker, who had been a Fellow for some years until 1653. It is evident that he was keenly on the watch, for whilst Dr. Batchcroft was still alive he presented a petition to the King. In this he states that 'in regard to the extreme old age and indisposition of the Master, he is earnestly requested by the Fellows to take upon him the office.' Other arrangements had, however, already been made, apparently by Batchcroft himself. A royal letter reached the College, November 24, 1660, intimating that Batchcroft 'had made humble suit, out of his earnest desire and zeal for the good of the College, that we would use our interest that Dr. Brady should succeed him.' A week later Brady appeared, armed with the royal mandate for his appointment, and was at once elected.

It may be remarked that the royal interference with the freedom of college elections, which had been rare in early times, was gradually becoming very frequent during the Stuart period. James II., in his well-known

attempts, brought this interference to a climax, but we have many indications how vexatious it had already become. There were always a number of Court favourites on the look-out for some vacancy in the colleges, any one of whom might suddenly appear with the royal mandate, claiming the post, 'all statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.' Sometimes these attempts were met by counter-intrigues, as in the case of Dr. Gostlin. In 1676, again, there is an entry in our books of £5 given to the Chancellor's secretary 'for hindering mandates from coming to the College.' Another device, often adopted in the case of Fellowships, was that of 'pre-election,' by which persons were chosen for an office before it was vacant, so that when the candidate appeared His Majesty was humbly and regretfully informed that there was no vacancy.

Brady's long rule in college offers nothing remarkable, so far as his action and influence are concerned. He was a married man, and the first married Master who resided in college, for Dell does not appear to have brought his wife to Cambridge. Of Mrs. Brady nothing is known beyond the fact that she was Jean, daughter of Luke Constable, and that she was buried at St. Michael's on March 6, 1680. There were apparently no children of the marriage.

Brady's activity displayed itself in two widely different directions. In his strictly professional work he was much in attendance on the King. We have a bundle of accounts in the library, containing his claims and charges for his services. For instance, it appears that in the year 1684 he was entitled to £242 10s.

'Dr. Robert Brady, physician in ordinary to his majesty, . . . for his ryding charges and other expenses for himself, his men and horses in his attendance upon his Majesty at Windsor, for 144 days: at Winchester 30 days: at Newmarket 20 days: at the usuall rate of 25s. by the day.'

In 1688 he was one of the physicians who certified to the birth of the Prince afterwards known as the Pretender. In Macpherson's 'Life of James II.,' we are told that when James was at Rochester, on his flight from England, 'some bishops and others advised the King not to go. Dr. Brady, his physician, was sent to him, and argued the matter, but could not convince the King they did not think the Prince of Orange would attempt his life.' He must presumably have been well known as a private physician, to have been selected for the royal service. His only known professional communication is a letter to his friend Dr. Sydenham, in whose works it is published. In this he makes inquiries about Peruvian bark, and suggests the advisability of less severe bleeding than was usually recommended at the time. It is dated from Cambridge, December 30, 1679.

It is, however, as a historian that Brady is best known. In this capacity he enjoyed the advantage of easy access to the original records, as he was for a number of years Keeper of the Records at the Tower, and it is evident that he made ample use of his opportunities. But his strenuous efforts in every way to support the royal authority and prerogative over Parliamentary and Constitutional rights deprive him of any high critical estimate at the present time. We have a number of volumes in MS. in our library, written

by or for him, containing extracts from the documents in his charge. He showed the same careful interest in the deeds and charters of our own College, with the history of which he was evidently thoroughly familiar. His principal historical works are the following: 'An Introduction to Old English History,' 1684; 'A Complete History of England,' 1685; 'An Historical Treatise of Cities and Burghs,' 1690.

Brady died August 19, 1700, at Denver, the place of his birth, aged seventy-three. There is a monument to his memory in the church. We have his portrait in the Lodge. He was a considerable benefactor, as he left his estate in Denver to the College; also £500 for the purchase of advowsons, and all such books in his library as the College did not already possess.

As Brady's rule marks in several respects the close of a period, it is convenient to give here a summary account of the buildings, endowments, etc., of the College at the time. As regards the buildings, we are well informed, for Loggan's careful and minute representations were taken about 1680. The Gonville Court still presented its medieval aspect, and the gateway was in use as an approach from Trinity Lane. It will be noticed in the engraving that the grass-plot was enclosed by a railing, and that some fir-trees (planted in 1658) stood there. The door in the corner to the left was the entrance to the hall. In the Caius Court there has not been much alteration, beyond the facing of the chapel front and the removal of the tower. The upper window, to the left of the tower, is that of the ancient treasury, now part of the organ-loft. Immediately over the gateway, between the windows, is one of the many sundials which

then adorned the College. Haveus' elaborate sundial (see p. 60) is shown on the grass-plot. The reader will notice that on the Gate of Honour were still standing some pinnacles, since removed, as well as the figure of Mercury at the summit. So much will be tolerably familiar to every modern student, but the rest of the engraving may demand some explanation. To the right, facing Trinity Street and Trinity Lane, are the Legge and Perse Buildings, presenting much the same appearance (except for a plaster face) which they retained until 1868. To the left, opposite the Legge Buildings, is the Fellows' garden, which also lasted till 1868. The high wall surrounding it was mostly built by Caius, but to the north, between the Perse block and the Gonville Court, is shown a piece of the ancient wall of 1480-90. The gate to the right of the avenue is, of course, the original Gate of Humility, which faced St. Michael's Church. On the south side of this Tree Court, to the left, is the 'President's garden.' The wall enclosing it was built by Dr. Caius. In the extreme right-hand lower corner were several town houses, which appear to have been omitted from the picture. It may be remarked that the representation of a waggon and horses in the upper part of Senate House Passage must be premature, as that portion was not then thrown open, being, in fact, still occupied by a garden and houses. But perhaps Loggan intended his picture to be confined to the College itself. It will be seen that the Master's garden was then much larger than it now is. It was evidently laid out with trim and regular flower-beds. The picturesque octagonal tower is Dr. Caius' 'turret staircase,' built by him in

1566, as an approach to the upper rooms of the Lodge. It was unfortunately removed when the Lodge was enlarged in 1795. The buildings beyond this comprise the kitchen, buttery, offices, stable, and one small block of chambers. This last is the three-storied building standing next to the hall, referred to already (p. 117). It remained in use, for students' rooms, until the site was wanted for the new library in 1853. The wall bounding the Master's garden is the ancient wall built about 1480-90, the greater part of which is still standing.

As regards the endowments of the College. Though the stream of gifts for general purposes, such as additions or improvements to the buildings, increase of stipends, books for the library, plate, pictures, and so forth, has never ceased, yet the number of Fellowships and scholarships was for a long time scarcely added to. In 1685 there were twenty-five Fellows and seventy scholars. For nearly 150 years the only additions to these, given to the College, were the three Fellowships founded by Mr. Wortley in 1749, and the chemical scholarship founded by Professor Mickleburgh in 1756. There was reason for this comparative check to the growth of these endowments, for, as we shall presently see, the state of things in our College, in common with most other colleges, was not such as to call for any addition to the money given to students, or to men who had been students.

The only episode during this period which in any way reminds us of the great religious disturbance under the Commonwealth is that which led to the sufferings of the Non-jurors. It is true that our College as a cor-

poration was in no way affected. Unlike St. John's, where about half the total number of Fellows was ejected, only one of our Fellows—Bartholomew Wortley—was inclined to hold out. He has been included in a list of Non-jurors, but if he did for a time refuse the oaths to the new Government, he must have changed his mind before long, for he certainly did not lose his Fellowship. But amongst former students several are to be found, some of whom were conspicuous. Far the most prominent of these is Jeremy Collier, for seven years scholar of the College, who not only suffered the loss of all his preferments, but more than once underwent imprisonment. About six former members of the College either temporarily or permanently refused the oaths.

The efforts of James II. to introduce Romanists into the Cambridge colleges produced no such dramatic incidents as are recorded in the famous struggle at Magdalen, Oxford. The principal intrusion of the kind was at Sidney, where Joshua Basset, Fellow of Caius, was made Master by royal mandate in December, 1686. His selection by James probably implies that he had already become a Romanist. He only remained Master at Sidney for two years, where he was very unwelcome, and was involved in incessant disputes with the Fellows. Tradition long recorded the efforts he made to introduce the Mass into the chapel service. He was removed from the mastership on December 1, 1688, when the King, a few days before his departure, was hurriedly endeavouring to pacify his subjects by sacrifices of this character. Strange to say, he was suffered to remain a Fellow of our College whilst he held the mastership at Sidney—possibly, at first, from fear of irritating the

King, his Fellowship not being declared void until March 26, 1689. According to Cole, he lived to a great age, and died in poverty in London. Another Fellowship was pronounced vacant at the same time as Basset's, namely, that of Clement Bolt. He had been pre-elected into the seniority by royal mandate in 1686. This fact, combined with his dismissal almost immediately after the Revolution, makes it probable that he was one of the Romish intrusions.

The success of the College during Brady's time was probably largely due to Mr. Ellys, the tutor, of whom we shall have more to say presently. As a Master he failed, but as a tutor he seems to have enjoyed a greater reputation than almost anyone of his time in the University. Whiston, for instance, refers to him as 'that eminent and careful tutor.' During his time several very distinguished men issued from the College, besides one or two who were noteworthy, and one at least who attained notoriety. Amongst the former are Samuel Clarke, the metaphysician; Jeremy Collier, the Nonjuror; and Henry Wharton, the antiquary, whose astonishing erudition—he died at the age of thirty—seems to recall the memory of the scholars of the earlier part of the century. Several other learned divines were trained under the same tuition, and we must add two doctors whose memory a college with a medical reputation cannot let die, namely, Elias Daffy, of the elixir, and Thomas Dover, of the powder. The former, who graduated as M.B. in 1687, is said to have obtained the secret from his father; he was one of the rival claimants to it in a subsequent family dispute. Dover graduated M.B. at the same time as Daffy. The powder,

familiar to so many generations of youthful patients, is said to be still substantially the same as in his recipe. He was adventurous as a traveller, and still more so as a buccaneer. Whether John Dennis, author and dramatic critic, is to be accounted as celebrity or notoriety may be disputed. He was fined and expelled 'for assaulting and wounding Charles Glemham (another student) with his sword.' This incident deserves notice as an illustration of gradual laxity of University discipline, for in the bitterest complaints against the excesses of dress and conduct on the part of earlier students, they are never charged with wearing swords. As to the category in which Titus Oates stands, there will not be any dispute. He adorned our College for about two terms, when he migrated to St. John's, but soon left, and took no degree at Cambridge. He seems to have borne a bad character from the beginning, as his tutor, Mr. Ellys, told Baker, the antiquary, that 'he was a liar from the beginning: he stole, or cheated his tailor of a gown, which he denied with horrid imprecations.' As to his college life, we have some particulars in a book by his college contemporary, Adam Ellyott. Ellyott was afterwards charged by Oates with being a Jesuit, to which he replied by 'a modest vindication of the Salamanca Doctor . . . an essay to demonstrate him only forsworn in several instances.' Of Oates he says, that

'he and the plague both visited the University in the same year. He was very remarkable for a canting fanatical way conveyed to him with his Anabaptistical education; and in our Academical exercises when others declaimed Oates always preached.'

Of Ellyott's book, it may be added that he has given in it an account of his experiences as a captive at Sallee. He was taken prisoner, when returning from a tutorship in Italy soon after leaving Cambridge, by a pirate ship. It is one of the most interesting accounts known of the life and sufferings of the unfortunate captives taken by those corsairs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—STEADY AND CONTINUOUS DECLINE

'I rise about nine, get to breakfast by ten,
Blow a tune on my flute, or perhaps make a pen;
Read a play till eleven, or cock my laced hat;
Then step to my neighbour's till dinner to chat.

'From the Coffee-House then I to Tennis away,
And at six I post back to my College to pray;
I sup before eight, and, secure from all duns,
Undauntedly march to the *Mitre* or *Tuns*.'

Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany, 1751.

SHORTLY before the close of Brady's rule a period of slow but steady decline set in—one which affected not Caius College only, nor Cambridge only, but University life in England generally. For nearly three-quarters of a century the numbers, as estimated by the aggregate of degrees conferred, gradually dwindled without a trace of recovery. Anyone who, in 1780, endeavoured to infer the future from observation of the past might have concluded that Cambridge and Oxford had done their work, and that in another century they would become almost extinct. And this decline seems to me

to have affected the quality as well as the quantity of the students. Great names, of course, occur still; and those of men in high places, especially in the Church, are bound to occur, for such men are selected from amongst those of academic training. Where the deficiency is mainly shown is in the case of men of another rank—amongst those who did not come to college from mere routine, or as part of the necessary preparation for a professional career. It is the miscellaneous class, including the cultivated, the eccentric, the adventurous, the enthusiastic, whose absence represents so great a loss to the biographer and annalist. The early Georgian student does not arouse his annalist's interest by emigration, by adventurous travel, by entering into Court service, by killing others in duels or getting killed himself, or even by risking his life in war. We do not find that he disappears after a year or two, migrates to Douay, Valladolid, or Rome, and reappears a little later, at much hazard of his neck, as a seminarist priest. He does not accept a country living under one ecclesiastical order, and suffer ejection a few years afterwards under another. Even the Non-juror episode, relatively small as it was compared with preceding religious crises, has no counterpart here. The nearest approach to any disturbance arising out of religious convictions is characteristically shown in a little splutter of deism which agitated our College authorities in 1734. Nothing more, however, came of this than the expulsion of one not very respectable Junior Fellow, much against his own will, and in spite of his assurance that he had repented of his ways.

In the case of our College this comparative dulness

is aggravated by a peculiar circumstance. Gonville and Caius had always been somewhat of an East Anglian College, drawing its supplies largely from Norfolk and Suffolk. But in early days those were wealthy and progressive counties, and in Elizabethan times a large number of our men were drawn from a distance—for instance, from Yorkshire and Devonshire. In those times, indeed, not more than half the College could be called purely East Anglian. But gradually this changed. It seems as if students were no longer attracted from a distance to hear some particular teacher, or out of spiritual sympathy; but that they came with the very definite object of securing an endowment. Fellowships and scholarships were more and more confined in practice to Norfolk and Suffolk men, until at length there was very little inducement for any others to present themselves. The preponderance of these counties in the College became at last overwhelming, and, as they declined in relative importance in the country, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a falling off in the numbers, and therefore in the capacity, of the men who issued from them. Of seven-eighths of our students, we can say little more than that of Norfolk and Suffolk they are, and unto Norfolk and Suffolk they return. They are the sons of the country gentry, the clergy, and the yeomen of those counties, and of the tradesmen of the county towns. They have all been trained in the schools of their district—Norwich, Ipswich, Bury, Lynn, etc.—and they almost all return to their own county after graduation: sometimes as country gentry, but far more often as clergy.

The Georgian student had, indeed, one merit which

must not be overlooked. *He dressed for his college dinner*, and in those days dinner was early—probably about one o'clock. Etiquette rigidly demanded that for this he should powder his hair, and should wear silk stockings and pumps. The College barber accordingly became an important person, and paid his daily visits to his employers. There are many references to him in current literature, and regulations are from time to time laid down in the College *Gesta*. Thus, in 1738 an order was passed that the barber should not come into the College upon Sundays.

The eighteenth century has several very eminent guardians to look after its interests, so that those who utter anything to its apparent disparagement have reason to be careful. It must be repeated, therefore, that what is here said refers only to the Universities; but as to the statistical statement there can be no doubt whatever. The University generally, and broadly speaking every college in particular, were for some eighty years steadily on the down grade; and the same statement holds good as to the University of Oxford. The question as to the quality and character of the men turned out during this period is, of course, a more debatable one. It can only be asserted that the above is the conviction left on the writer's mind after a careful study of the lists of those admitted; but the reader can to some extent test this opinion by referring to the chronological list of distinguished members of the College which is given at the end of this volume.

Those who make this reference will notice one thing: of the comparatively few men who attain to 'D. N. B. standard' during the interval 1700-70, a rather large

proportion have gained admission as antiquaries or county historians. I cannot but think that this is to some extent connected with that laxity of discipline and utter decay of all systematic instruction which marked the time, and that it indicates that the few students who possessed originality and industry were left to pursue their tastes undisturbed by the authorities. Take the case of Francis Blomefield, who entered in 1724. At any well-conducted college of recent times, the energetic tutors who had secured such a student would at once have coerced him into a tripos. As it was, he seems to have been left entirely to himself, and to have spent all his time, from his first term, in transcribing MSS. in our library, and in noting and copying inscriptions in all the surrounding villages, and in like desultory work. We need not discuss whether his course was the best possible, but it seems plain that he would have found it difficult to follow that course either in the century before or in that after the one to which he belonged. It does not seem altogether accidental that of the only two well-known Cambridge antiquaries, Baker and Cole, the latter altogether, and the former to a great extent, belongs to this period.

Another fact may be added: A considerable number of the above distinguished men, like Blomefield, were never Fellows. It is amongst these latter that the characteristic indolence and unproductiveness are most conspicuous. Here, again, one is forced to give statistics. During the period 1707-77 there were 158 Fellows elected. Of these only eleven can be found recorded as authors in the vast index of the British Museum; and in regard to those of them who resided in College, and

held tutorships and lectureships, the case is still more remarkable. Their total literary output seems to amount to four sermons and a few verses.

The causes of this long decline must have lain deep in the national character or circumstances, and it does not belong to the annalist of a single college to attempt to analyze them. We need only remark that the depression was not due to any religious shock, such as that which almost emptied the Universities during the Reformation, nor to national poverty; for it is notorious that the country was then steadily growing in wealth. Nor were the revenues of the colleges in any way falling off. So far from there being any lack of scholarships for deserving men, there were only too many of them. These were of small value, it is true, but so numerous that for many years practically every student in College, except the Fellow-commoners, was a scholar. The depression was not due to any lack of national vitality, for, as we know, our countrymen were then doing no small things beyond sea; but for some reason the men who were carrying on the exciting and adventurous part of the national business did not in early life frequent the Universities. For instance, so far as the career of our own students is concerned, during some fifty years in the middle of the century, we should hardly suspect the existence of either India, Canada, or the West Indies; nor, as regards the prevalence of other forms of faith than the Anglican, would one gather that such errors were held, except by finding them denounced in sermons and pamphlets written by the clergy.

Of course the gradual operation of the Act of Uniformity will partially, but only very partially,

account for this dulness and shrinkage. As the Romanist had been finally excluded in the time of Elizabeth, so was every kind of Dissenter excluded eighty years later. During nearly two centuries we can only find the name of one avowed Nonconformist who issued from our college, and not that of a single Romanist. But there must have been other causes than those which were due to legislation.

James Halman: 1700-1702.

James Halman, twenty-third Master, ruled for too short a time to have left the slightest impression behind him. His father, Nicholas, was Rector of Thursford, Norfolk. He was admitted, from Holt school, in 1655; graduated B.A. in 1659, and M.A. 1662. He held a Fellowship from 1662 till his election to the mastership. Perhaps owing to his having entered College at a time of such religious disturbance, he seems never to have taken Holy Orders; but he was for some years a tutor, and held in succession nearly all the College offices open to a layman. He also held the important University office of Registrar during eighteen years—viz., from 1683 to 1701. So far as he had any special subject of study, it would seem to have been that of the Civil Law, as he had a choice collection of works on this subject, which he left to our library. He died in College, and was buried in the chapel, December 23, 1702; but there is no monument to his memory. His portrait is in the Lodge. He is enrolled amongst our benefactors by a legacy for the increase of the value of the scholarships founded by Dr. Caius.

The only domestic event recorded about this time

was the compilation of the Commemoration service so familiar to everyone who has been a student of the College. The due commemoration of the dead formed an important part of the duty of the living in all the medieval religious foundations, and the colleges naturally followed the example of the monasteries in this respect. The earliest reference we have to any such commemoration service is in a MS. volume by Edmund Sheriffe, the Master, in 1472. There was already a fair list of benefactors at that time, whose names are recorded, together with directions as to their 'obits.' For instance, St. Boniface Day, June 5, was set apart for Walter Elveden, former fellow. It is directed that a solemn Mass shall be sung for his soul on that day, at which the Master and Fellows shall all without exception be present. In 1531, by which time many other names had accrued, the subject was again taken in hand by the College; a fresh list was drawn up, and directions issued as to the Psalms to be sung on these occasions. Nineteen days are selected in the year for these services, two or three names being generally assigned to each day. By 1610 a small volume had been compiled, under the name of 'album Gonevilinum.' Richard Parker, a learned antiquary, and a Fellow at that time, refers to this *album* as containing more than 100 names. In 1615 the College paid £5 to a heraldic artist, John Scott, 'for writing two tables of the founders and benefactors of the College, with their several coats portrayed in them.' As Parker reminds us also, in his day the College buildings bore silent but eloquent testimony on many a window, on walls, and elsewhere, to the pious designs

of those who had once caused them to be erected: testimony of which there is scarcely a trace surviving now.

The commemoration service decided on in 1702 was drawn up by two Fellows of the College, Mr. Lightwin and Mr. Gurdon, and is still in use with certain later additions. Unfortunately it was very carelessly and inaccurately compiled, and its historic interest is much diminished by the omission from it of all benefactions below a certain money value.

John Ellys, twenty-fourth Master, was a son of John Ellys, of Raveningham, Norfolk. He was born at Huntingfield, Suffolk, and was trained at various schools in that county. He came to our College as a sizar in 1648, but was soon after elected a scholar. His early experience was all under the Commonwealth régime, as he graduated B.A. in 1652, M.A. in 1655, and was elected Fellow in 1659. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that he, like his predecessor, was a layman. His not being in Orders, however, was no barrier to his success in college. He held all the offices open to a layman, and he achieved the distinction of remaining for many years one of the most popular and distinguished tutors in the University.

He was elected Master on January 1, 1703, being at that time about seventy years of age. He served as Vice-Chancellor during the academic year 1704-5. It was whilst holding this office, on the occasion of the visit of Queen Anne to Cambridge, that he received the honour of knighthood, at the same time as Isaac Newton. He seems to have been of respectable parentage, though Le Neve in his 'Knights' is very con-

temptuous about his claims to gentility, declaring that 'his grandfather was an ordinary man, and had no pretence to arms,' and of Sir John himself, that 'the coat he pretends to is unauthorised.' Le Neve then proceeds to add a comment which one would think must be unique in a heraldic pedigree, that Sir John is 'commonly called the divel of Keys.'

The fact is that it was very unfortunate for Ellys' reputation that he ever became Master. He had won fame as an admirable tutor, but in his capacity of Master he has left no other record behind him than that of a long and bitter quarrel with the Fellows of the College. The dispute commenced within a few years of his election, and during the rest of his tenure the 'Gesta' are constantly recording such entries as this:

'The Fellows unanimously asked the Master either to pass the Bursar's account, or to give reasons for his refusal.'

'It was the unanimous desire of the Fellows that the Master would admit Sympson as Fellow, but he refused.'

His refusals to admit Fellows became at last so repeated that the Fellows appealed to the Visitors, who so far supported them as to declare that on this point the Master was in the wrong. The dispute still dragged on, until in 1715, the year before the poor old man died, the Fellows made a determined attempt to expel him in accordance with a statute of Bateman, 'De inhabili custode.' They assembled in the chapel, the usual meeting-place, having secured the presence of a notary, and requested 'that the Master would please to meet them.' To this the Master replied abruptly 'that he was busy, and could not meet them.' A

repetition of the summons met with the reply that he 'should be busy all the afternoon.' Some days later they secured his presence, and presenting him with a list of 'articles relating to his ill administration,' they solemnly gave him notice 'to secede from the mastership.' This notice was duly attested by the notary, and presumably forwarded to the Chancellor of the University. If so, nothing came of the attempt; at least, we have no record of any subsequent proceedings.

The squabble in itself is of no interest or importance, but as a sign of the changing order of things in the University it deserves notice. As in the case of Dr. Caius, 150 years earlier, we have on one side an old Master strenuously resolved to uphold his authority, and profoundly believing in the value of a system which was rapidly passing away, and on the other side a body of young men who resented any interference. In each case the body of Fellows included hardly a single man of learning or marked ability; but whereas the opponents of Caius were at least animated by religious bigotry, those of Ellys seem to have had no other object than to secure their own ease and liberty.

The only statement we have on the Master's side is in a MS. petition addressed to the Queen, and preserved in our library, but perhaps not presented. It contains a long list of complaints about the conduct of the Fellows, and declares that his attempts to secure adherence to the statutes had been persistently thwarted by their opposition. Defiance of his authority is the leading complaint; the Fellows are irreverent towards the Master in words and actions; they invite guests to table without consulting him; they pass the College

accounts without his sanction, and so forth. Amongst other articles are the following: that the Fellows are not regular in their attendance at chapel service, and that 'they give orders to the porter not to carry the keys to the Master, that they may have uncontrolled admission at night.' By Caius' statutes all Fellows had to be present at chapel, and the keys were to be given up to the Master at eight o'clock in winter and nine in summer. One can well suppose that when the old man struggled to secure adherence to these rules he met with defiance. The fact was that the ancient order had passed away. When Ellys began his life in College the Fellows were still in subjection to the Master, and were liable to fine if they infringed the letter of the statutes. They were now claiming entire freedom.

The old Master began to sink in health soon after this, and the last meetings at which he was present were held, not, as usual, in the chapel, but in his own Lodge. He died in Cambridge, November 29, 1716, and was buried in the chancel of Swaffham Prior Church, where there is a slab to his memory. He had property there, which was probably the reason for selecting the place of burial; his relations not unnaturally did not ask permission for him to be buried in College. The inscription records, what is probably perfectly true, that

'for above forty years he was a tutor eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, diligence, and integrity; an admirable method of instruction, exemplary conversation, constant keeping Chapel, Church, and Lectures, and care his pupils should do the like. By his interest he procured several considerable benefactions to the College, and gave £50 towards buying the advowson of Broadway, Dorset.'

Considering their relations to the Master, the Fellows certainly showed some lack of self-respect in their speedy inquiry of the executors, 'How far the College is concerned in Sir John Ellys, our late Master, his will?' and can scarcely have been surprised at the curt reply, that 'the Master and Fellows were informed that the College was not concerned at all in the said will.'

Thomas Gooch, twenty-fifth Master, 1716-1754, had the advantage, or otherwise, of being a personal friend of William Cole, the antiquary, who, as is well known, was remarkably free in his comments on his friends. We have, accordingly, a quantity of very graphic information about the opinions and habits of the Master. The statements in inverted commas in the following account are mostly extracted from the Cole MSS. at the British Museum.

He was a son of Thomas Gooch of Yarmouth, who is described in our register as 'gentleman,' and was probably well-to-do, as his younger son William entered the army, and was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and was created a Baronet. Thomas was born at Worlingham, Suffolk, January 19, 1675, and was educated at Yarmouth Grammar School. He entered College May 5, 1691, as a pupil of Mr. Ellys. He soon became a scholar; graduated B.A. in 1695, M.A. 1698, and D.D. 1711. He was a Fellow of the College from 1698 to 1714, during which time he held several offices, but he probably did not remain long in residence.

He was marked out by character as an active and pushing man. Not long after taking his degree, he became domestic chaplain to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. He was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne

for some years until 1718; Archdeacon of Essex, 1714-1737; Lecturer at Gray's Inn, 1716; Rector of St. Clement, Eastcheap, and St. Martin Ongar, 1714-1732; Canon of Chichester, 1719-1739; and Canon of Canterbury, 1730-1738. One would have thought that this rate of progress was satisfactory, but Cole tells us that towards the close of his life Gooch once assured him that 'preferment was a long time before it came to him.' He was consecrated Bishop of Bristol June 12, 1737, 'where he stayed so short a time as never to have visited his diocese.' He was translated to Norwich October 17, 1738, where he seems to have been very popular. He was always kindly and charitable, and is remembered in Norwich by his incorporation of the Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of the Clergy. He also repaired and beautified the palace at considerable expense. Blomefield, in his 'History of Norfolk,' referring to the charity, calls it 'a rare example, but such as must make others, with the author, pray that it may please God long to preserve him amongst us.' To this Cole remarks: 'I am apt to think that the Bishop did not heartily say Amen to this, as he had an eye to a future translation to Ely.' It need hardly be said that in those days there were enormous differences in the income and position of the Bishops. The desired step followed in due time, as he moved to Ely in 1748. What else he may have looked forward to one cannot say; but in his will he mentions, as an alternative burial-place, 'the cathedral where Providence may place me at my decease.' Throughout his career he took his episcopal duties in the easy fashion of the day. Whilst he held Ely he generally resided there for the three

summer months, and during the rest of the year in his Lodge in College, or in London. As was usual with the Bishops during the last century, he seldom held his ordinations in his cathedral, but generally in some London church or in his College chapel.

As his monument in our chapel states, *Uxores habuit tres*. The first was Mary, daughter of Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, and sister of the Bishop, whom he married early. From this marriage 'may be dated all his future good fortune, both in dignity in the Church and in temporal good fortune.' By her he had one child, Thomas, who succeeded him in the baronetcy. His second wife was Hannah, daughter of Sir John Miller, Baronet, 'with whom he lived but an uneasy life, she being both peevish and unhealthy.' She died about 1746, leaving one son, John, afterwards a Fellow of the College. The third was Mary, daughter of General Compton, Lieutenant of the Tower, whom he married at the chapel of Ely House, London, in 1748. 'This was more of vanity, to ally himself with the Compton family, than anything else.'

Gooch was an active man in University politics, at first supporting the Tory party, but after about 1727 siding with the Whigs, or Court party. In fact, according to Cole, who is more than usually bitter on this point, he had begun as a Jacobite.

'Dr. Gooch and Dr. Conyers Middleton had been great friends, were both of a party, and both changed it; yet it is my real belief that both their hearts were with their old friends. . . . They had made an opposition until they saw the utter impossibility of doing any good by it, and seeing that the full tide and stream of preferment was against

them, they did wisely to swim with the stream. Dr. Gooch, by a good brisk opposition at first, and then veering about dexterously and awaiting opportunities, arrived at a good harbour in the Isle of Ely. There was little occasion for him to be saving when he had so good a steward for his family as his brother-in-law, Sherlock, who indeed pulled him into his preferment, who died in 1761 most scandalously rich, leaving to the Bishop's son, Sir Thomas Gooch, £150,000.'

Cole gives a graphic account of his first open departure from his old party. He had come down from London to Cambridge (probably at the election of 1727) with the Hon. Dixey Windsor, who was standing for the county in the Tory interest, and up to the moment of their arrival Gooch had not undeceived his companion as to his intentions. Next morning Mr. Windsor called on Gooch,

'whom he found shaving himself; and complaining to the Master, whom he still supposed to be most heartily in his cause, that he found the University much altered from what it used to be, and that if the Court party would set up a broomstick he believed they would vote for it, to Mr. Windsor's no small surprise the Master turned himself to him, and said very gravely, And so must I too.'

Rightly or wrongly the incident was remembered, and a nickname in consequence stuck to him throughout life. In a pamphlet of 1751 he is thus referred to:

'The chief of these deserters is now called Nehemiah Broomstick, though his true name is Thomas Bishop. But after his Apostasy (for he has some humour though he has no principle) he named himself Nehemiah Broomstick:

Nehemiah, because it is a name of the times, and Broomstick because he hath often declared that if a broomstick were Governor of this realm, he would swear to the broomstick, he would pray for it, and do anything but fight for it.'

In University history he is best known in connection with the proceedings against Dr. Bentley, of which a full account is given in Monk's 'Life' of the great scholar. The dispute arose out of a petty squabble about a fee of four guineas which Bentley, as professor, had demanded of Middleton. Middleton sued Bentley before Dr. Gooch, whom the Tory party had appointed in 1717. On a citation being sent to Bentley he refused to attend, declaring that 'he would not be judged over a bottle of wine' by Gooch and his colleagues. For this contempt of court the Vice-Chancellor, with much vehemence, and to the surprise of all present, then and there solemnly deprived him of his degrees. On Bentley's proctor commenting on the harshness and injustice of this sentence, Gooch threatened to suspend him too, adding: 'Go tell your friend from me that, if he does not come and make his submission and acknowledge his fault within three days, I will declare his professorship vacant.'

Gooch was then a Tory and Bentley a Whig, and the sentence, which was certainly questionable and harsh, was almost universally regarded as being instigated by party animosity. In order to back him up in this dispute, Gooch was again elected Vice-Chancellor in each of the two following years, this being an almost unique occurrence. It ought to be added, however, that he had the further merit of being an excellent man of business, and that his help was very useful to the University in another way at this time. The present

Senate House was then being built, and it was largely through Gooch's efforts that the sum of £10,000 was raised for this purpose.

In connection with the Bentley dispute a curious story is told, illustrative of the bitter feeling excited at the time. The rumour ran that Gooch had been fired at in his Lodge by someone from Trinity College—the Lodge was then exposed on that side—and the hole in the wainscot, where the shot had entered, was long shown. According to Monk, the story had some foundation, whether the shot was the result of design or of accident, for in some later repairs a bullet was actually found in the wall.

Gooch bore the character of a charitable man, and of one who was kindly and courteous towards those whom he felt inclined to treat as equals. Cole sums him up as follows:

'As I have hinted that he was a man of as great art, craft, design, and cunning, as any in the age he lived in, so I must also bear my testimony that he was as much of a gentleman in his outward appearance, carriage, and behaviour as ever it was my good fortune to converse with. He was a man also of the most agreeable, lively, and pleasant conversation, full of merry tales and lively conceits, yet one who well knew the respect that was due to him. He was always free and easy of access to all those who had any sort of pretension to it. His company and conversation were coveted by everyone. He used frequently in early days to spend some of his time at Horseheath Hall,* near Cambridge, where one of the rooms still

* Then the residence of Henry Bromley, Esq., M.P., afterwards Lord Montford. The house has been long since, wholly or in part, pulled down.

goes by the name of "the drunken room," where those in the warmth of their zeal in drinking favourite (Jacobite) healths were apt to be overtaken and removed thither: not that I would insinuate that he was ever given to that vice. He was one of the neatest and cleanest, both by complexion and habit, I ever saw. As he always wore his own fine gray locks without any powder in them, so his scarf, gown, and cassock were never soiled by that filthy custom of wearing so much oil and powder on the head. His lordship was always as bright and black as jet.'

There are two portraits of him in Cambridge, which quite bear out Cole's description. One of these, in the Lodge, represents him in episcopal costume, and must have been taken rather late in his life. The other, now on the staircase of the University library, is earlier. In this he wears his own long black hair.

Gooch certainly looked well after the interests of his own family, as may be seen in the early and rapid preferment secured for his younger son.

'John Gooch is now sequestrator of Fen Ditton, not being of age to hold the living; but is designed for it, the Bishop (his father) having secured a promise, in case of his death, from his successor, the ministry, the Abp. of Canterbury, and the Crown in case of lapse.'

Cole adds that John Gooch

'told me, going together to dine at Horseheath Hall, that his father told him with great passion that were it not for the great expectation his elder son had from Bishop Sherlock, he would spit in his face,—that was his expression,—for that, knowing the tie he had upon him, he tyrannized over him in a most gross manner, and got most of his pre-

ferment from him. That he (John Gooch) when he was just in orders, by his father's desire, waited on Bishop Sherlock, and begged his lordship to give him a then vacant prebend of small value in St. Paul's; but that he refused him in a most rough and rude manner, and never gave him to the value of sixpence in his life, or left him a groat at his death, though his brother got £140,000 by him.'

The relations between Dr. Gooch and the Fellows formed no exception to the too prevalent rule. They began in harmony, but after a few years the inevitable quarrels broke out and raged with more than usual animosity. Gooch, however, was a more difficult man to deal with than his predecessor. He was comparatively young, very adroit, and was supported, as the Fellows soon had occasion to remember, by his episcopal position, and by many friends. The ground of dispute was the usual one, namely, the exercise by the Master of his 'negative vote,' by which he claimed the right to veto the decision of any College meeting,—generally in the election of a Fellow,—and after a short period to make the appointment himself 'by lapse to the Master.' The wording of the statutes was obscure, and no certain decision was ever given by authority.

The squabble in this case, as in most others of the kind, is insignificant in itself, but it is amusing, and is worth briefly recording as an illustration of the times. The Fellows took the opinion of counsel, pointing out that, if the Master's contention was sound, he might by sheer obstinacy secure every election and appointment to himself. The lawyers admit the difficulty, but cannot see their way to an adverse decision. Then the Master adopted a still more ingenious device. By

statute, the 'President' was appointed by the Master, and acted as his full deputy when he was absent. This office fell vacant, and Gooch simply omitted to appoint a successor; all he did was to nominate a locum-tenens, without authority to make elections to Fellowships, etc. The Fellows had an inkling of what was coming, and protested, but in vain; for thirteen years no President was appointed. Then the Master simply absented himself. He did not altogether quit College or the comforts and advantages of University life; he merely did not attend the meetings. During one period he was thus absent for a year and a half. The Fellows were powerless for all but routine business. A Fellowship fell vacant, and they could not fill it up. Then a living fell vacant,—that of Mattishall, in 1741,—and they could make no presentation. A living lapses to the Bishop after six months, and Gooch being himself Bishop of the diocese, the Fellows began to suspect what was coming, and again appealed to counsel for advice.

They did not get much for their trouble and expense. One of their advisers thought that they might, perhaps, make a lawful election by laying hands on the College seal and filling up the presentation themselves. He adds, however, a serious caution that they had better be careful how they proceeded,

'seeing the great danger of issuing or serving a monition, or taking any other step in a criminal proceeding against a Lord of Parliament, without privilege being first waived by himself, or by order of the House, upon petition: which must be attended with great hazard and difficulty.'

The other counsel gave similar advice, and thought that at any rate 'it might be safest to wait till the session of Parliament is terminated.'

The sequel to this story, as sometimes repeated in Cambridge combination-rooms, is that the Master let the living lapse to the Bishop, who thereupon appointed the Master's son. The actual facts are almost as scandalous. The Master did deliberately let the living lapse to the Bishop, who, showing no more promptitude, let it lapse on to the Archbishop. The latter appointed a Mr. Gooddall, the Bishop's chaplain, who, though a Fellow, was only a junior, and not entitled to the living. These proceedings, however they excited the indignation of the Fellows, appear to have encountered no kind of obloquy outside the College. In regard to the extraordinary claim to immunity as a Bishop in Parliament, it may be remarked that the Master had yet another resource behind this. He was intimately acquainted with the College statutes, wherever his own privileges were concerned, and he would at once have confronted the Fellows with the statute of Bateman, by which they had sworn never to proceed against the Bishop of Norwich in any cause whatever.

Dr. Gooch inherited the baronetcy in 1751. Sir William was his younger brother, but, having no male issue, the remainder was secured to the Bishop and his issue. He died at his London residence, Ely House, Holborn, February 14, 1754, after having been for some years in a declining state. By his own desire—Cole characteristically remarks that this was in order to please his brother-in-law, Bishop Sherlock, from whom he had such great expectations—the body of his first

wife was removed from London, and placed beside him in the College chapel. There is a monument to his memory on the south wall, expressed in the rather fulsome style of the time.

He ranks amongst our benefactors, principally by the legacy of £200 which he left for the restoration of the Gonville Court, in return for which the College was to establish an exhibition to be called by his name. He also gave during his life his own portrait, and left those of several of his predecessors. Unfortunately, we are not told how these were obtained; probably they had been handed down by successive Masters. Besides the two portraits of himself already mentioned, he refers to two others, one of which, at least, is now in possession of the family. His eldest son Thomas inherited the baronetcy, and, with the large fortune left by his uncle, Dr. Sherlock, bought the estate of Benacre, Suffolk, which has since been the family seat.

The principal domestic matter in the College during this period was the trial and expulsion of a junior Fellow, Tinkler Ducket, for atheism and immorality. The affair created much excitement in the University, and both Baker and Cole have given some account of it. It was a little wave on the flood of deism which was then sweeping over England. Ducket was certainly a sorry specimen of the hero or martyr. He was in deacon's Orders, and curate of Little Horkesley, Essex, at the time of his offence, and proceeded to priest's Orders in 1735. The principal evidence against him was a letter he wrote in 1734 to a friend, also a Fellow of the College. It is couched in a vulgar, scoffing tone, and concludes, 'I was obliged to return

to the College to pray.' He says of himself, 'As to any further progress in Atheism, I was arrived at the top, the ne plus ultra.' He was also charged with immorality. As regards his expressed opinions, the only defence, apparently, was that he had subsequently abandoned them. It is a curious illustration of the thought and feeling of the time that neither he nor his friends deny his frequent avowal of atheism at the time that he was holding a curacy, and about to take priest's Orders. Ducket seems to have been somewhat of a leader of a party at Cambridge. He alludes to one of his friends as 'a hero of the truth.' The hero settled down not long after into a country living. Ducket himself was expelled from the University by decree of the Vice-Chancellor's Court in 1739, and from the College a few days afterwards.

As regards the College buildings, some important changes were carried out during this period. The ancient Gonville Court had hitherto preserved its medieval appearance, for no alterations had been made in it beyond the enlargement of the windows in the hall, library, and some of the dwelling-rooms. The north side was probably in a dilapidated state, as it consisted of the two very old houses which were already standing there when the ground was acquired in 1353. The south side—in other words, the chapel front—had been modernized in 1718 by the present casing of freestone. In 1751-52 it was resolved to case with freestone the east and west sides, so as to bring them into harmony with the chapel, and to rebuild in the same style the north side. The total cost of these changes was £3,390 17s. 2d., towards which Mr.

From a photograph by] THE GONVILLE COURT [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

Bartholomew Wortley, one of the Fellows, had bequeathed £400. At this time the gateway from Trinity Lane, which till the time of Caius had been the only customary entrance to the College, was closed. Its position is shown in Loggan's engraving. From this date the inside aspect of the court has undergone, as far as known, no change whatever, except by the construction of the projecting window to the combination-room. It may be remarked that when this window was made in 1870 the original brickwork of 1441-1444 was disclosed, with a small window of two lights. Behind the stone-faced walls there have been, of course, considerable changes. On the west side the ancient hall and library were converted into chambers in 1853, and on the east side the buildings behind the wall were entirely reconstructed in 1870. The cupola over the combination-room was erected in 1728, and is the oldest piece of work now to be seen from the inside of the court.

The Master's Lodge also underwent some internal alterations during Gooch's tenancy. It must be remembered that Gooch, though not the first married Master, was the first who had a family in college. As far as we know, no change had been made in the Lodge since the time when Caius completed his additions to it, so it might well require modification to adapt it to the new circumstances.

A very important change was made about this time in the surroundings of the College by the building of the Senate House. As has been already said, the upper part of Senate House Passage was until then occupied by houses, and by the garden of an old hostel, that of

St. Mary at one time, and afterwards belonging to Corpus. Those who look at the south side of our wall will notice three arches bricked up; these were originally recesses intended for seats in the garden, on the sunny side of the wall. The only thoroughfare on this side started from Trinity Hall Lane (then called Milne Street), and ran along the west part of Senate House Passage to our Gate of Honour, where it met the wall of St. Mary's garden. Here it turned to the right by 'Schools Street,' as far as the present entrance to the University Library, where it turned again to the left by 'Regent's Walk,' coming out opposite St. Mary's Church. Most of the space between this crooked road and our College was crowded with old houses.

It should be understood that the proposal of the University was at first to place some part of the Senate House opposite our Gate of Honour. This would have hindered access to the schools, and would have greatly obstructed the light and air on which Caius had laid such stress. The present Senate House was commenced in 1722, but the west end of it, towards the library, had not been completed; and a scheme was now, in 1727, under discussion to complete it opposite our College. Not unnaturally, the Master and Fellows protested against this scheme, Dr. Gooch declaring that 'it was so injurious to Caius College that I am fully resolved not to bear it.' The case was brought before the Court of Chancery, where it lasted from 1727 to 1730. The proposed scheme was finally dropped, and the space between the Senate House and library left open as we now see it. It was at this time that the Passage was completed as a thoroughfare into Trinity Street. The houses around outside the College were thus removed, but a block

still remained at the corner, where our Gate Tower now stands. This corner was not acquired by the College till 1782; the houses on it stood till 1868.

It has been already remarked, as characteristic of the century, that hardly any additions were made to our endowments. There is, indeed, one important exception in Mr. Wortley; but when he is spoken of as an exception, it must be remembered that he really belonged to a much older generation, for he entered the College in 1671, in the early days of Ellys' tutorship. He lived to a very great age, and, dying in 1749, left a large sum of money to the College, with which three Fellowships were eventually founded. In connection with this endowment, the Wortley 'speech' was annually delivered by one of the Fellows on his foundation. This was a means not unfrequently adopted for perpetuating the memory of a benefactor. In medieval times it had been the universal rule that the donor should be annually commemorated by a solemn Mass in the College chapel; in fact, this was often exacted as a condition in the deed of foundation. In later times the plan was occasionally adopted of requiring a speech from the Fellow or scholar who was benefited. Thus, Wortley prescribed that on his feast-day a speech should be delivered 'in the Hall or other public place, the bell being tolled at 11 o'clock; in commendation of learning, the founders of the College,' etc. This custom was adhered to until, by the action of the Commissioners in abolishing all distinction between the different foundations, there ceased to be any special 'Wortley Fellow.'

About this time there was also a large addition to the number of livings in the presentation of the College.

As has been already remarked (p. 13), in early times the Fellows had no special inducement to retire to a country parish; but after the Reformation,—when priests could marry, but Fellows could not,—the custom that a vacant living should be offered to the Fellows in turn became so fixed that at last it acquired the force of law, and as the number of Fellows increased the demand for livings increased, too. Wilton, Foulden, and Mutford had been part of the original endowment secured by Bateman; Mattishall, St. Michael Coslany, and Bincombe had been added afterwards, and three or four others had accrued by gift or purchase. About 1705 Stephen Camborn, Rector of Lawshall, and former scholar of the College, left about £3,000 'to Keys College to be laid out in the purchase of a living.' The spelling of the name, and the suggestion that one living could fetch this sum, gave opportunity to his relations to dispute the will on the ground of insanity. There was, in consequence, a Chancery suit, which was decided in favour of the College. No less than six livings,—those, namely, of Ashdon, Lavenham, Great Melton, Long Stratton, Oxburgh, and Blofield,—were thus acquired.

As we have several references about this time to the College porter, a few words may be added here about the duties of that officer. That someone must have performed these duties from the first is obvious; but it may be remarked that in early days his work would be slight. In a college there was nothing corresponding to the crowd of visitors and guests who had to be admitted at the monastery gate; the students were extremely few, and mostly in strict subjection to rule;

moreover, at an early hour the keys were handed over to the Master, and left in his custody for the night. When the College was enlarged, and pensioners grew numerous, the porter became more necessary. Accordingly, Dr. Caius expressly defined his functions, left a sum of money for his support, and decreed that he was to wear a uniform, and a badge with his (Caius') arms on it. The uniform in time was dropped, but during the eighteenth century we find such notices as this: 'For a hanger for the porter, 10^{s} (1719)'; and again, somewhat later: 'For a sword for the porter.' What can have been the object of this? We can only suppose that it was for the defence of his masters when they went on journeys. Till far into the eighteenth century all journeys for business were made on horseback. Nearly every year the Master and Bursar, and perhaps another Fellow, rode to the distant College estates (one of which was in Dorsetshire) to inspect them, and to hold manorial courts. These journeys, of course, took several weeks, and it was the custom for the porter to accompany the party as an escort. Thus, in 1662, the expense of this expedition, consisting of the Master, two Fellows, the porter, and another servant, came to over £50. Considering the serious risk in those days of attacks from highwaymen, it seems only a reasonable precaution that the escort should be armed. Till 1754, when the entrance from Trinity Lane was closed, the porter's lodge probably stood there. Later on, when the Gate of Humility became the customary entrance, it must have been transferred to this latter position. As far back as memory and tradition extend, it was situated in one of the old houses which then stood in the south-east

corner of our ground, a few yards from the Gate of Humility.

James Burrough, twenty-sixth Master, was a son of James Burrough, M.D., of Bury St. Edmunds, where he was born September 1, 1691. After some years at Bury School, he was admitted pensioner at our College in 1707. He graduated B.A. 1712, and M.A. 1716. He was elected a Fellow in 1712, and resided ever afterwards in College, holding the various offices open to a layman. In the University he held the post of Esquire Bedell from 1727 until his election to the mastership, February 27, 1754. In the College quarrel he seems to have been somewhat on the Master's side; at least, he indirectly aided the schemes of the latter by consenting to hold the post of locum-tenens, with its very limited powers, for about twelve years.

He was by profession an architect—or perhaps we ought rather to say that he was such by choice, for there seems no evidence of his having had any regular training in the art, and all his life was spent in College. Mr. J. W. Clark says of him that he was 'an amateur architect of some skill and considerable reputation in the University, where he used his influence to introduce the classical style which had then become fashionable.' Popular repute has assigned to him, as his principal local achievement, the design of the Senate House; but this is an error, as it seems certain that a regular architect, James Gibbs, really undertook the work, Burrough having only sketched out the general design. There is, however, still a good deal of work to be seen in Cambridge which is really his own. The sides of our Gonville Court were faced by him, about 1754, nearly as they

now stand. The cupola over the combination-room was designed by him in 1728. He transformed the hall of Queens' into an Italian chamber in 1732, 'beautified' Emmanuel Chapel in 1735, and designed the north wing of the front court of Peterhouse in 1736. He faced the quadrangle of Trinity Hall about 1742. The Doctors' Gallery in St. Mary's Church, so familiar to Cambridge men, until 1863, under the name of 'Golgotha,' was his. He seems also to have been frequently consulted about buildings in the town and county of Cambridge.

The great disappointment of his professional life was connected with the east façade of the University Library. He had prepared a design for this in harmony with the Senate House, which, it is generally admitted, combined both beauty and convenience. This, however, was set aside, through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Chancellor, in favour of the present design. Cole says of this:

'Whatever were the motives, the friends of Mr. Burrough, —and he had no enemies, though the expectants voted for the lucrative side,—thought this not only a great slight thrown unnecessarily on a very worthy member and old servant of the University, who had deserved better, but that the building of a new front to the Library, on a different design from that of the adjoining Senate House, was absurd and ill-judged. It occasioned a good deal of animosity and ill-temper in the University; and the Duke, in order to cajole and bring into temper Mr. Burrough, soon after procured him a knighthood.'

During the latter part of his life,—in fact, during most of his time as Master,—he was much crippled by illness. Cole says of him:

'He died a bachelor; was a great virtuoso in painting, prints, and medals, of which he had a very choice and valuable collection. He was always my particular friend and acquaintance, and was as honest and worthy a man as ever lived; but being a very large and corpulent man, who lived freely and took no exercise, it is no wonder he fell into so ill an habit of body, or rather that he lived so long.'

He died in College August 7, 1764, and was buried in the ante-chapel, where there is a stone to his memory. His portrait is in our Lodge. He was a considerable benefactor to the College, bequeathing an estate of about £30 annual value in Wilton, Norfolk. He also left his large collection of medals, above referred to, for our library, as well as a great number of books.

Sir James Burrough was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries, and much interested in antiquities, but he published nothing on his own account. He had worked much at the history of the abbey in his native town of Bury, and assisted Dr. Batteley in his work on that subject published in 1745. There are one or two MSS. in the British Museum which consist of collections by him for a history of that abbey, but they were never completed or published.

John Smith, twenty-seventh Master, 1764-1795, is, perhaps, personally the most insignificant in the roll of occupants of the Lodge, in which respect he may be considered as a not inappropriate headpiece to mark the close of a century of decline. It must be admitted, however, that the Fellows, if they were to follow the customary rule of selecting one of themselves, could not apparently have done any better. Of the twelve

seniors at the time, ten were clergymen, and belonged therefore to the class which is more apt than any other to display its learning in print. So far as can be ascertained, the entire literary production of these twelve amounts to one single visitation sermon.

John Smith was son of Henry Smith, an attorney of Coltishall, Norfolk, and a well-known man in his county. He is alluded to by Blomefield as 'Harry Smith of Norfolk.' John was trained at Eton for six years, and admitted at our College in 1732. He soon became a scholar; graduated B.A. in 1736, M.A. in 1739, and D.D. in 1764. He was elected a Fellow in 1739, and for a time held various College offices. He began work as curate of his native parish, Coltishall, to which cure he was ordained priest in 1739. He was chosen to the mastership after Burrough's death, August 17, 1764.

In the University he was Lowndean Professor of Astronomy for twenty-four years, from 1771 to 1795. What may have been his claims to this post we cannot say, for, following the usual practice of the time, he seems to have delivered no lectures, nor can I find that he ever published any work, or contributed to any scientific journal. That he did make observations in his own Lodge,—there was no University observatory then,—seems probable; for there is an entry in our 'Gesta,' November 17, 1764, to allow him 'to make such alterations in the south parapet, over the antechapel, as may be thought necessary for the reception of his transit telescope.' Perhaps the unusual possession of such an instrument caused his election to the professorship; but his candid friend, Cole, suggests that

this was due to Court favour. In 1783 he was collated to the chancellorship of Lincoln, which he held until his death.

The following is what his friend has to say about his life and character:

'This downright honest man is the son of an attorney in Norfolk, who had but one leg. Dr. Smith has no other preferment; but as a bachelor, with a private fortune, he lives very hospitably and much esteemed by his acquaintance. There is an excellent picture in the Lodge, by Reynolds, very like him. Smith is a plain, honest man, of strong passions when moved. An eternal smoker of tobacco; pretends to a taste in painting, and may possibly understand it, though he looks as if he did not; and has such an inarticulate way of expressing himself that very few people understand what he says. He has a brother's widow and her children; a Mrs. Smith who lives with him and keeps his house.'

This was Margaret, daughter of Charles Atthill, and widow of his younger brother Joseph. One of the children referred to was Joseph, afterwards Fellow of the College, and for many years confidential secretary to Mr. Pitt, whose son, again, John James, was in after-years a well-known tutor of the College. Another of the children mentioned by Cole was Mary, who married Dr. Porter, Bishop of Clogher.

'He began during his Vice-Chancellorship, and finished this year (1768) what would have much pleased Sir James Burrough: I mean the west end of the Senate House, according to the plan drawn by Sir James himself, and agreeable to the rest of the building, all in Portland stone.

There is an iron balustrade (the present one) already arrived in Cambridge, which is to go from this west end to the old building, so that there will be no obstruction from Caius College, which is rather much improved by so beautiful a part of the building in view of it. The Porta Honoris, close by it, is in so ruinous a state as to be necessary to wholly take it down. The Master told me it was in debate whether to erect another like it or not, which would be very expensive.'

Fortunately, the sacrilege was avoided, and nothing more was undertaken,—at a somewhat later date,—than some restoration of what was actually decayed.

Though Dr. Smith's long tenure of office has left no trace behind that seems in any way to depend on his own initiative or exertions, he does appear to have been a fair man of business, and to have been well acquainted with the affairs of the College. There are several MSS. in our library containing notes by him on the previous history of our estates and College income. He died June 17, 1795, and was buried, June 21, in the chapel. There is a slab to his memory in the ante-chapel. He left £200, the interest to be employed in increasing the income of the Wendy Fellow. He also left a small estate in Cheshire to the University, for the increase of the Lowndean professorship. The rest of his property was left to his brother's family.

If Richard Belward, twenty-eighth Master, from 1795 to 1803, did not rival his predecessor in the characteristic of insignificance, it must be remembered that he had but a short period in which to display his capacity. He was a son of Richard Fisher, surgeon, of Long Stratton, Norfolk, where he was born. He was

admitted a sizar in 1765; became a scholar soon afterwards; graduated, as ninth wrangler, in 1769; M.A. 1772; and D.D. 1796, having been elected Master July 1, 1795. He was ordained deacon in 1769, and priest in 1772. He was presented to the College living of Long Stratton in 1794, but resigned this in the following year on becoming Master. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1790. In 1791 he took the name Belward.

He died at Roydon, Norfolk, May 16, 1803, and was buried at Diss, where there is a monument to him and to his mother. By his will he left to the College some shares in the Grand Junction Canal, of the annual value of about £60. The proceeds were to be devoted to 'exhibitions to four students who are sizars and natives of Norfolk, whom the Master shall think most deserving.' This provision led to a certain difficulty, for, as will be presently explained, sizars were almost extinct, and by the time the legacy became available were entirely so. The exhibitions were, therefore, bestowed upon deserving pensioners in the College.

There are only two domestic events to record during this period, both of them regrettable. The first of these concerned the Master's lodge, which had remained unaltered since the time of Dr. Caius, with the exception of certain internal improvements effected under Dr. Gooch. In 1795 a considerable addition was made by building backwards into the garden. In this way the present dining-room, and drawing-room over it, were built. Very unfortunately, however, at the same time, the ancient turret-staircase on the garden side of the Lodge, in the building of which

Dr. Caius had taken such interest, was destroyed. It was an interesting and picturesque construction, and, as it stood several feet from the new rooms, its removal would seem to have been quite wanton. It is shown in Loggan's engraving.

The other unfortunate occurrence is one for which the College cannot be blamed, unless indirectly for carelessness. It was the loss, by burglary, of most of the ancient plate, in the year 1800. The theft was one of a succession which took place about the same time in private houses and in Colleges. In our case the loss was very serious, amounting to 2,000 ounces, and including, it is to be feared, amongst many other old and valuable articles the great silver salver which Caius had presented at the dedication feast in 1558. The first theft in our College was from the combination-room, after which Mr. Wilkins, the architect, declared that he would construct an absolutely burglar-proof plate-closet. In a few weeks this was broken open, and the contents removed. Two persons were convicted for the theft, of whom one was executed and the other transported for life. One article only was recovered, namely, a small silver mug. The thief, it appears, thought his beer tasted so nice in this mug that he could not bear to have it melted with the rest, and contented himself with blacking it over outside. It was an important piece of evidence in his conviction.

It may sound like covert sarcasm, after speaking of a century of continuous decline, to say that at the close of that period the change was effected from the old to the new system, and that medieval Cambridge had developed into modern Cambridge. But in a sense the

statement is perfectly true. The old system, so far as it involved general methods and regulations, was still in vogue at the beginning of the period. The old statutes were still in force, or, at least, efforts were continually being made to enforce them. At the end of the period the methods and regulations were in many respects substantially what they now are. If during the transformation the result was for many years as unsatisfactory as we have seen, the fault was presumably on the part of those who had to work the rules. The change from the old to the new was so widespread that it will be advisable to discuss it in some detail.

Consider first the social relations of the students in College. At the commencement of the century the ancient order prevailed still. There were three classes of students, sharply distinguished from each other, viz., fellow-commoners, pensioners, and sizars. These classes were almost equally numerous, and, from all that we can gather, they had but little communication with each other. The social distinctions which marked them at home remained deeply stamped upon the youths throughout their college career. By the end of the century these distinctions had practically passed away. But few Fellow-commoners were admitted, and most of these were either married men or of such an age as to put them more into sympathy with the Fellows than with the pensioners. The sizars may be said to have disappeared by the same time, so far as our College is concerned. The indirect consequences of such a change are obvious. So long as a community, small to begin with, was divided into several classes which had little or no communication with each other, it is plain that

nearly all that we now regard as characteristic of college life was impossible. No club, for instance, whether for intellectual or athletic purposes, which should be at all representative of the College, could exist; and, as a matter of fact, there were none such.

As the sizar system has been very little understood by those who have been loudest in its condemnation, it will be convenient to give here a short sketch of its origin, and of the steps by which it was gradually abolished. To state the difference in an epigrammatic form, we may say that the modern opponent assumes that the system degraded students into servants, whilst its ancient supporters claimed that it raised servants into students. Going back to the time of the Reformation, one problem that had to be solved was how to provide a supply of educated clergy now that such an important source as the monasteries had been cut off. We know how earnestly some of the preachers of the day,—men like Latimer and Dr. Leaver, of St. John's,—appealed to the wealthy merchants and others to take upon themselves the support of promising young men at the Universities; just as Dean Nowell reminded Mrs. Frankland of the 'poor towardly youths that lacked exhibition.' But, in the failure of such help, what other resource was there? The colleges had difficulty enough to support their own establishment; scholarships were yet very scarce (there were but three in our College in 1530); so it is plain that if poor scholars were to be provided for they must do something to earn their living. Two or three such posts had been provided from the first, in the offices of the butler, the steward, and the cook, but there was need for more of these, and the sizarships really provided a resource.

Some of the sizars helped in the kitchen or buttery, others were the servants of the Master or of the senior Fellows, and were called private or 'proper' sizars, a term which lingered till very lately in some colleges. In our admission register it will be found that they are always assigned to this or that Fellow as his sizar. They doubtless did ordinary valets' duties, so far as these were wanted in College, but their principal function was to wait upon the Fellows at table. They had, accordingly, no table of their own, but sat down and finished what the Fellows left.

When we try to look at this arrangement from the point of view of our ancestors, one consideration must be borne in mind. The position of 'menial dependence' on the part of a youth of the age at which students then came was not considered as in any way degrading. Everyone acquainted with the habits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is aware that it was a common practice for poor relations to be employed in domestic service. And to take a closer case in point, plenty of the younger sons of the gentry,—gentry in the strictest sense of the term, as being included in the Heralds' Visitations,—were apprenticed to City merchants. The duties demanded of a young apprentice were, to say the least, as menial as those of a college sizar. These sizars in Elizabethan times were mostly the sons of the country clergy, tradesmen, and yeomen, and were only too thankful to be supported till they could graduate and take Orders. Doubtless the Fellow-commoner took no more notice of them in college than he would have done if they had remained at home and worked in the fields or behind the counter; but it does not seem to have

occurred to either party that a distinction which was universally recognised at home should disappear as soon as the youths were in the same College together. No trace of the degradation or injustice afterwards found in the system was ever suspected in those days; and a long list could be easily drawn up of the splendid names in the Church of men to whom the system was an introduction to the first step of the ladder up which they were enabled to mount.

With the eighteenth century a very different tone and temper set in. There was no longer the old love of learning, and as the end for which the sizar was working came to be less highly regarded, his present humble and degraded position attracted more attention. Accordingly, step by step their position was in course of time changed, until, in those colleges where they are now nominally retained, they are to all intents and purposes ordinary scholars. The only distinction is that the qualification of poverty, once a nearly universal condition for all scholars, is now made an exceptional condition in their case.

In 1670 the ancient duties were still in full force. The following order of that year is very significant, as it displays the strict precedence of rank in College, and proves that some of the sizars had still the duty of personal attendance on their masters:

'Agreed that all the sizars in College, . . . except those that be proper sizars to the Fellows, and keep under them or nigh, for their convenience, do, upon notice given them, leave their chambers for the accommodation of pensioners, and that pensioners and B.A.'s do the same to Fellows and Fellow-commoners.'

The steps of the subsequent change may be marked in our 'Gesta.' Till 1703 the sizars seem to have sat down at the Fellows' table, after dinner, and to have there helped themselves to what was left. In that year an order was passed 'that the sizars do eat their commons in the Hall at a table by themselves, and that they do allow the scholars' servitor twopence a week each for serving them.' In 1745 an order was passed forbidding them to wear the ordinary pensioner's gown; apparently they had endeavoured to assimilate themselves in this respect to their fellow-students. By 1767 they had evidently revolted against their special duty, for we find an order that 'the scholars having declined waiting in the Hall, it was agreed to allow the butler £20 per annum, and the remainder of the commons to provide two servants to wait at the Fellows' table at dinner and supper.' So with the chapel clerk, who was really a sizar, though he did not go by the name. One of his original duties was to light the candles and ring the bell for service. In 1797 he was allowed to depute this duty to one of the College servants. He still, however, had to 'mark' the attendance of his fellow-students. In a few years this obligation also was transferred to the porter.

Another gradual but important change was that which took place in the tutorial system. On the old plan the tutors were comparatively numerous. Any Fellow might hold the office, and some were appointed who were not Fellows. The tutors had very intimate relations with their pupils, several of whom generally slept in the same room with them. By the commencement of the eighteenth century nearly all the students

probably had rooms to themselves, but in other respects the old system was still in vogue; for instance, the names of six or more tutors occur in our admission register at the same time. By the end of the century the modern system was fully established, and there had long been two tutors, or sometimes only one, of the present official type. The principal causes of the change were probably these. The number of students was small, so that few tutors were needed; owing to the decay of learning, and the prevalence of non-residence, the supply of suitable tutors was probably extremely small; there were no hard-working students amongst them to whom the fees of one or two young scholars would be an important consideration. Ellys was probably, in our College, the last of those who on the old system won a conspicuous and lucrative position by their zeal and ability. Accordingly, the official or College tutor was gradually introduced, and has remained ever since.

Again, as regards the position and duties of the Fellows. The ancient rule was that they should devote themselves to study, and for this reason should almost constantly reside, except when definite permission of absence was granted. Many, if not most of them, were tutors; others held lectureships; all of them had occasional duties, such as examination of scholars, the delivering of addresses in chapel, the superintending of the students' declamations, and so forth. Accordingly, residence was the rule, and exceptions were only allowed for good cause. Thus, E. Wright, the mathematician and navigator, obtained permission to go abroad on his voyage to the Azores in 1593. Dr. Gelsthorpe is granted leave in 1668, 'because he had been chosen physician in

ordinary to the Duke of Monmouth.' The usual assigned cause of absence, however, from the time of Caius, was for the purpose of study at a foreign University. Thus, in 1680, Mr. Dade, a student of medicine, obtained leave to travel for three years for the purpose of foreign study. And the rule of residence was for long rigidly adhered to. Thus, in 1675, 'Mr. Fuller, one of the junior Fellows, being gone beyond the seas without leave, it was put to the question whether his Fellowship was to be pronounced void.' It was decided that the Master should obtain a royal dispensation for him, which was accordingly done. It is obvious that the modern conception of the 'prize Fellowship,' now sanctioned by successive Commissions, in accordance with which a Fellow has, broadly speaking, no duties, but only rights, was utterly rejected.

The eighteenth century shows us one long struggle on the part of the Fellows to free themselves from these restraints, and corresponding efforts on the part of the resident authorities to thwart them. The offenders were generally barristers in London, curates in the country, or sometimes doctors in practice, and something was to be said on their behalf, for in the general decay of the University no work could easily be found for them in Cambridge. But the College kept passing rules against their absence. Thus, in 1721, Dr. Branthwaite, an advocate in the Court of Arches, 'is reminded of the order, of above twenty years' date, that every Fellow is required to reside one quarter of every year; if he continues to offend he is to be cited.' This absurd compromise,—for such a length of stay in College would prevent useful work either there or elsewhere,—was repeated in an order of 1734, 'that the junior Fellows

shall reside for three months in each year, or be precluded from all prospect of further preferment.' Again, in 1751, it was ordered 'that all bachelors, junior Fellows, and candidates for Fellowships shall reside in College one month in each half-year, and that in term time.' It was not till 1809 that the actual facts of the case were acknowledged by the agreement 'not to require for the present any residence in College from the junior Fellows.'

The position of the scholars was very similar to that of the Fellows; but in their case the remarkable fact must be borne in mind that, owing to the large number of such endowments, and the falling off in the number of students, practically every eighteenth-century undergraduate,—except the Fellow-commoners, who generally made no pretence to study,—was a scholar. The seventeenth-century scholar was a poor hard-working youth, selected for his promise and attainments, and more or less adequately supported by his endowment. He was only too glad to reside, even in vacation time, and generally stayed on until he was of M.A. standing; that is, he obtained seven years' nearly constant tuition. By the middle of the eighteenth century the scholar was just an ordinary undergraduate. The fall in the value of money, and the rise in his own demands, had made the scholarship little more than a petty deduction from his quarterly bills. He simply wanted, as a rule, to obtain his B.A. degree, and save further expense.

The authorities were constantly trying to force him to reside in vacation time, but naturally without much success. One thing must, however, be noted here, namely, that Cambridge never became so utterly deserted in the Long Vacation as Oxford was until lately. Even in the

most depressed period we can find proof of this, and it seems plain that the familiar *de facto* fourth term, during July and August, was, with us, not the introduction of a new custom, but the retention of the ancient practice. For instance, in 1730, it was agreed that 'in order to have a due number of servitors and other scholars during the Long Vacation . . . (such and such scholars) and the three junior servitors, together with the chapel clerk . . . so as to make the number up to ten, shall be present in the College during the whole vacation.' No necessity for such a rule could possibly have arisen fifty years earlier; but the fact that it was now made shows that the vacation was by no means an empty time. It implies that Deans, stewards, or some such officers, must have been in residence.

Another important change which was slowly and unofficially effected concerns the lecturing staff. We have already described the provisions made, mostly in the sixteenth century, for this purpose. Besides the two Deans, who lectured in ethics and in logic, there were the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin lecturers, and the catechist. All these were in full work in the flourishing times of the University, and their instruction was doubtless supplemented by that of the tutors, who so long as each of them had but a few pupils would have plenty of time to devote to private teaching. This was the system under which Jeremy Taylor and John Cosin had been taught in the early part of the seventeenth century, and was doubtless in force when Jeremy Collier and Samuel Clarke were students, and Ellys was the principal tutor, towards the close of the century.

This arrangement gradually decayed, and the state of things which we find towards the end of the eighteenth century is somewhat remarkable. The ancient staff of lecturers was appointed without fail at the annual meeting in October; their names are duly recorded, and their stipends are entered in our books; but no one of them ever gave a single lecture, or was expected to do so. The stipends of the offices, it must be remembered, had not been raised, and were naturally regarded as utterly insufficient. Every Fellow in turn was appointed to each office, and the stipend was simply treated as a small addition to his income as a Fellow. For instance, during some years a doctor in practice held the Hebrew lectureship. The names of all the holders of all these lectureships may be scanned for half a century without our finding the title of a single work published by any one of them on the subjects they were officially teaching.

Of course, some instruction had to be given, and it will be readily supposed that side by side with the official staff, who never even professed to do anything, an unofficial staff was gradually springing up who really did some work, though no reference is ever made to their existence in our records. The steps by which this was brought about are obscure, and it is probable that between the decay of the old arrangement and the growth of the new there was a considerable interval marked by great neglect and mismanagement. The new arrangement, which dates as far back as memory and tradition extend, was as follows: The whole instruction was entirely in the hands of the official tutor or tutors. They did not necessarily give lectures themselves, though they generally did so. They received

the entire tuition fees, out of which they paid the lecturers whom they themselves provided. Where the college was fairly well filled, and there was only one tutor, the office was a lucrative one. It was accordingly regarded as somewhat of a prize, and there were sometimes conventions as to the length of time after which it was considered decent for the holder to give way to someone else. This was the system which prevailed generally in Cambridge until the era of the Commissions.

In order not to break the continuity of the narrative, a few words may be added as to the tenure of the official lectureships. The Hebrew lectureship long remained an absolute sinecure, the only recognition that any instruction was desired in this subject being the appointment for a few years, from 1744, of a Mr. Israel Lyons, a Jew resident in Cambridge, 'to instruct our scholars in the Hebrew language,' for which he was paid £5 a year. Probably the first competent holder of the office was Mr. Crowfoot in 1845. The Greek lecturer, as such, was duly appointed every year until 1859, but as it was not until 1849 that his stipend was raised from its ancient value of £3 to £5, there was some excuse for his invariably treating it as a sinecure. As to the catechist, what he had been accustomed to do in the eighteenth century may be guessed by noticing what he was directed to do in the nineteenth. In 1838 it was decreed that in future 'the catechist give at least eight lectures in the course of the year.' At the same time the Hebrew lecturer was directed to give six lectures in the year.

The evolution of one other characteristic may be

briefly noticed, namely, that of what may be called the examination system. By this is meant the practice of systematically examining all the students at regular times, with its corollary of assigning prizes to those who are at the head of the list, and making the appointments to Fellowships and scholarships dependent on such examinations. Broadly speaking, this system was unknown at the beginning of the century, and was in full vogue at the conclusion.

In speaking of examinations as modern, we must be careful to distinguish them, as above intimated, from the mere process of selection. Where the candidates are more numerous than the posts for which they apply, some means of selection must always be employed. Examination in this sense was carefully prescribed by Dr. Caius. He lays it down in his statutes that the candidates for his scholarships were to be publicly examined in the chapel for three days; on the first day by those who were already scholars, and on the other two by the Deans and the Fellows. This practice was long adhered to, and we find references to it from time to time in our 'Gesta,' the latest of these being in 1720, 'That the young lads do sit for scholarships on the 24th October.'

The above rule and practice apply to *scholarships*, and there was a reason for this. Candidates for these came from the outside, and the College, knowing nothing of their attainments, was bound to test them before election. But once inside the College, nothing of this sort was repeated. How, then, it may be asked, were the Fellowships awarded? Probably by general reputation. The Master and Fellows had had ample

opportunities of getting to know the attainments of the men during their stay in College,—a stay which often lasted for seven years,—for they had been constantly hearing the exercises and disputations which the students were in the habit of delivering.

There is one other purpose for which examination was employed in early times. Before the men went in for the degree the college tested them to see that they were not unfit. In a sense we may call both the University test, and that of the college, examinations, but they were very different from anything we should call so now. There was no string of questions to answer, but the candidates were publicly matched against each other in the attack and defence of certain theses. Probably the college tested their capacities in the same way before sending them in. The earliest notice I have seen of this practice is in 1634, when it was decreed 'that all candidates for the B.A. degree should be examined in the chapel from 8 to 11, and from 1 to 5.' Similar notices occur subsequently from time to time, the latest perhaps being in 1705. This last was a general order that the Fellows should examine the candidates for degrees; it was a duty incumbent upon all the Fellows, and for this purpose all were required to be in residence in January, the time of the University examination, on pain of a fine of twenty shillings. This was of course merely what we should now call a 'pass examination.'

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century it is probable that very little care was taken in the disposal of either Fellowships or scholarships; but it must be remembered that the scholarships were then so numerous

that practically almost every student obtained one, and that the Fellowships were also relatively so plentiful that the possession of one conferred very little distinction. The only reference I have found in our records to a Fellowship examination is in 1767, when it was agreed that 'for the future all candidates for junior Fellowships shall be examined by the Master and Fellows in the Greek Testament, Tully's offices or Philosophical works, and Demosthenes.' This was clearly a *test* examination only, to exclude the absolutely unfit, not a competition to select the best. In the latter part of the century the Mathematical Tripos gradually acquired its commanding pre-eminence, and Fellowships began very generally to be awarded in accordance with the published list. The celebrity and impartiality of this examination checked the disposition in our College, as in most others, to adopt any further examination of their own, and in time it came to be taken as a matter of course that Fellowships should follow the Tripos list.

The first *prize* ever established in our College was by private benefaction in 1776. It was the gift of a former Fellow, Francis Schuldham, who by his will left £10 to be given annually for a piece of plate 'to some scholar taking his degree of B.A., as after due examination shall be most deserving.' In 1805 the College first established a general examination of the students, and awarded two prizes to be given annually, one in classics and one in mathematics. This examination, however, if one may judge from the small number of names contained in the lists, would seem to have been at first entirely voluntary.

Besides the above changes, another important and

obvious one must be mentioned, namely, the increased age of the students at their admission. Early in the seventeenth century a considerable proportion of them were not more than thirteen or fourteen, and some were younger still. Throughout the eighteenth century the average age was very nearly the same as it is now—at most, not more than a few months less than it is now. It is needless to say what a profound difference this must have made in the studies and discipline of the place, and in the ordinary life and amusements of the students themselves. There were probably various causes at work to bring about this change, one of which deserves to be noticed, since it seems to have been rather overlooked. On the old system, as displayed in the days before the Commonwealth, what may be called the professional or working element in the College consisted almost entirely of those who were preparing for Holy Orders. Their life in college was a sort of apprenticeship for this, and it commonly lasted seven years, namely, from admission until the time of M.A. Sixteen was the statutable age for election to a scholarship, and, accordingly, on leaving college the student would be of the canonical age for taking Orders. When lax and indolent times came on, and the relative expenses of education began to increase, the student was disposed as a matter of course to depart as soon as he had taken the Bachelor's degree, and the inducement to commence his residence at the earlier age no longer existed.

CHAPTER IX

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—COMMENCEMENT OF REVIVAL

'Know ye the College where men never shine
In aught but in quaffing the juice of the vine?
The sounds that ye hear there are not like the lute,
For the voice of the *rowing-man* seldom is mute.'
Contemporary libel, about 1835 (*Whibley, p.* 140).

Martin Davy, 1803-1839.

Martin Davy, twenty-ninth Master, was a man of some mark. He was the youngest son of William Davy, of Ingoldisthorpe, Norfolk, where he was born January 28, 1763. When still very young, he became assistant to a practising chemist and apothecary at Yarmouth. Whilst there, he showed such a decided taste for classical study as to obtain an introduction to Dr. Samuel Parr, at that time famous as Master of Norwich Grammar School. He became a favourite pupil, and afterwards a friend of Parr. He then studied medicine at Edinburgh, where he made the acquaintance of James Mackintosh, Robert Hall, Henry Brougham, and others, and became an active member of the famous Debating Society there.

Through Parr's* influence, who thought highly of his classical attainments, he entered our College, in 1786, at a time when things in the University were beginning to take a turn for the better. At Cambridge he kept up his classical studies, and, though never ranking as an accomplished scholar in the critical sense, he retained through life a keen interest in, and acquaintance with, ancient literature. He formed an early and lasting friendship with Porson, Dobree, and other scholars of his time, and was in frequent communication with them in after-life.

There was then no pretence of a medical school in Cambridge, and Davy accordingly, though always looking forward to a professional life, employed himself in the usual studies of the place. He was elected scholar in 1787, and graduated M.B. in 1792. He must have been an unusually good candidate for a medical Fellowship, and, one of those founded by Dr. Caius falling vacant about this time, he was chosen at once into a senior Fellowship in 1791. After this he returned to Edinburgh for a time, in order to complete his medical studies and to graduate there.

Before settling into medical practice in Cambridge, he travelled abroad for a time with Lord Ossulston, presumably as his tutor, obtaining from the College formal leave of absence, April 13, 1796, nominally in order to pursue his medical studies. This appears to have been the last occasion on which the statutable permission was asked for; it may be added that Davy was in all probability the first Master of the College,

* Parr himself had commenced life in the surgery, but had given this up for the career of a scholar.

since Dr. Caius, who had ever been out of England. He spent nearly two years at Rome and Naples, being in Italy at the time the French were in occupation there. This visit to Italy seems to have had a deep influence upon him, and as a consequence of his stay there the antiquities of Pæstum, Pompeii, and of the Italian cities, were a permanent subject of interest and study to him throughout his life. In 1797 he graduated M.D. at Cambridge, and at once commenced a practice there which soon became extensive. He always enjoyed a high reputation for his skill and success as a physician, particularly in the treatment of the severer kinds of fever.

He was elected Master May 31, 1803, being probably the best selection the Fellows could have made amongst themselves; for, though their average attainments were higher than on the previous two elections, only one of their number,—Dr. Wollaston, the eminent chemist,—had achieved any public celebrity. Davy continued his medical practice as Master for a number of years, except during the time he held the office of Vice-Chancellor, and obtained a considerable local reputation. Towards the close of 1810 he abandoned medicine, and took Holy Orders, graduating as D.D. in 1811. This change of profession is said to have been due to the influence of the lady to whom he then became engaged, and who brought him a considerable fortune. She was Anne, daughter of William Stevenson, of Biana (an old house near Eccleshall), Staffordshire. They were married at St. George's, Hanover Square, May 16, 1811. Their married life only lasted a few months, as Mrs. Davy died October 9 following.

Davy bore the character of an active and efficient manager of affairs, both in the University and in the College. In the capacity of Vice-Chancellor, in 1803, he took an attitude which is curiously significant of the position of the medical school at the time. A son of Mr. Thackeray, Fellow of King's, who had practised as a surgeon for some years, desired to graduate as a physician, and for this purpose entered as a Fellow-commoner at Emmanuel. After the requisite five years' residence as a student, and after having performed all the statutable requirements, he applied for permission to perform the customary Act. To his astonishment this was refused at the last moment by the Professor, who maintained that the statutes did not allow one who had been a surgeon thus to proceed to M.B. An interpretation of the statute was sought from the Heads, who, largely owing to the strenuous advocacy of Dr. Davy, who was Vice-Chancellor, supported the rejection. They gave the decision that 'no one can be admitted as a candidate who has been habitually engaged, within the time prescribed by the statute, in the practice of any trade or profession whatever.' This new legislation, for it seems to have been practically such, thus passed in 1803, was rescinded in 1815.

On most University matters Davy was a strong Whig, or Liberal; in fact, judged by the contemporary standard of his position as a Master, he might be called a Radical. For instance, he was the only Head of a House, except Dr. Lamb, of Corpus, who signed the petition to Parliament, in 1834, for the abolition of religious tests in the University. Another signal instance, according to Gunning, was given by the fact that it was by his

single vote in the Caput (the then executive body in the University, corresponding to the modern Council) that a proposal was rejected, in 1806, for appointing a syndicate to devise some monument to Pitt. Davy himself, however, maintained that his objections applied rather to the method than to the object of the proposal.

In 1827 he was appointed by the Crown to the valuable living of Cottenham, near Cambridge, and was made Prebendary of Chichester June 14, 1832—preferments which he held until his death. It may be taken for granted that these were political appointments. Dr. Lamb, of Corpus, his fellow-Liberal, was made Dean of Bristol in 1837.

Though learned and skilled in his own profession, his dominant tastes were classical. He had a splendid private library, which he used to boast contained the two best editions of every classical author. This was sold after his death for £1,130; the sale catalogue, with the prices realized, is in our library. Wide as was his correspondence with literary contemporaries, none of his letters seem to have got into print. Mr. Thomas Kidd had intended to dedicate his edition of Horace to Davy, as he states in his preface, and had actually printed it, but the intended compliment was declined.

By the general testimony of those who knew him personally, he was a courteous, affable gentleman of the old school, extremely fond of society and of social and literary intercourse. He was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Family Club—a social gathering of ancient standing still existent in Cambridge. In later years a serious deafness, which gradually increased, tended to cut him off from all such opportunities of

intercourse; but during his early years the Lodge must have been one of the best centres of literary communication in Cambridge. Professor Pryme, who knew him well, gives the following account of him:

'He was a man of acute mind, and had written a great deal on metaphysics and other literary subjects; but he directed in his will, and with almost his dying words earnestly requested, that his MSS. should be destroyed, which was done by boiling them in the great kitchen copper of the College. There is reason to believe that he had been sceptical up to middle age, and afterwards, becoming a sincere believer, he dreaded lest there should be some taint of his former opinions in his writings.'

Rightly or wrongly, it is certain that the suspicion of heterodoxy clung to him throughout his life.

He died in College, May, 1839, and is buried in the chapel. There is a brass there to his memory, designed by Mr. W. Shoubridge, with an inscription by Mr. H. Drury, both members of the College. The ancient collegiate practice,—referred to by Mr. W. A. Wright in his edition of Shakespeare's 'Julius Cæsar,'—of contributing a number of memorial verses was adhered to on this occasion. In a volume in our library are a number of compositions in Greek, Latin, and English, which were thus written by members of the College at Dr. Davy's funeral. The following appreciative notice in the *Times* is said to have been written by his friend Mr. Barnes, the editor:

'Perhaps no man in the University had acquired a larger degree of the respect and goodwill of his contemporaries of all classes of opinions; and most deservedly so, for he

was, throughout a long life, distinguished for the courageous integrity of his opinions, for the manly candour of his understanding, for the suavity of his manners, and the benevolence of his actions. He was, besides, highly accomplished, both as a professor of medical science and as a general and classical scholar. He felt the greatest interest in the College over which he presided; and many persons now eminent may, and we believe do, unhesitatingly ascribe their success in life to his judicious advice and friendly services when they were mere students.'

He was a considerable benefactor to the College, principally by the estate of Heacham, near Lynn, which he left in trust for the Master for the time being. We have three portraits of him—two in the Lodge, and one at Heacham.

Though very extensive changes and additions were contemplated in our buildings during Davy's time, only slight alterations were actually effected: very fortunately, as most people will now think. The actual change consisted in the favourite device of coating with cement the old brick surface of the Legge and Perse Buildings—a device which has marred the picturesque appearance of other colleges in Cambridge. This was done in 1817, at a cost of £400. In 1822 very extensive additions were seriously discussed. Plans were prepared by the architect, Mr. Wilkins, for which he was paid £250, but for some unknown reason,—possibly the cost,—nothing more was done. From the plans, which are preserved in our Treasury, it appears that the Legge and Perse Buildings were to be entirely rebuilt. The old Gate of Humility was to be left standing. Beyond this, at the south-east corner, was

to be another block of building occupying the position of our present Gate Tower. The style was like that of the Provost's Lodge at King's College, built by the same architect at about the same time. So far the desirability of the change is a question of taste, as between the design of Wilkins and the actual construction of Waterhouse. But more was contemplated, and this of a character which we can only be too thankful to have escaped. The face of the Caius court, including that of the chapel, was to have been interfered with, to the injury or destruction of one of the few pieces of work which have been practically left untouched for more than 300 years.

One little change may be noticed as having been introduced into the College in 1837. Till now there seems to have been little or no distinction between the gowns used by the members of the various colleges, nearly all alike wearing what was little more than a small black flap. In this year the present very distinctive blue gown for the undergraduates was adopted by College order.

The College boat club was founded about this time. No doubt various small and temporary associations had from time to time been formed for music, and possibly for games, but the boat club was certainly the forerunner of the many organizations which now exist in every college for athletic and social purposes, and a few words ought therefore to be said about its origin. It was established in or about the year 1825 or 1826, the earliest record of any race being in the Easter term of 1827. The first racing-boat was a six-oared wherry. The original members were R. M. Gillies, captain;

A. C. Paget, coxswain; J. J. Smith, afterwards the well-known tutor; W. Plunkett; A. C. Humfrey; J. M. Rodwell, subsequently distinguished as an Oriental scholar; and E. Holley. Of these, probably, Paget,—brother of Sir James and Sir George,—best deserves the name of the actual founder; and it may be pointed out that the motto of the club, 'Labor ipse voluptas,' is the family motto. The prescribed uniform was 'a straw hat with a black riband, a striped shirt, with black handkerchief, blue jacket, and white trousers, with a black belt.'

It need hardly be said that the races were at first of a very casual and informal character. The number of the competing crews varied from race to race, and even sometimes from day to day during the same set of races. Nor was the number of men in a boat necessarily the same. Thus, in 1827 the Caius boat, together with one or two others, had but six oars, whilst the rest had eight.

The College boat soon took a good place on the river. As will be seen by the accompanying table, its period of greatest success was in the years 1836 to 1844, during which it was four times head of the river. In 1844 it acted, in a sense, as representative of the University. The circumstances were these: The Town boat club happened that year to have an unusually good crew, and challenged the University crew to row against them. The University proposed instead that whatever crew was head of the river should act as their representative. This was agreed to, and the Caius boat, being head at the end of the races, rowed against the Town boat and won the race. The

tradition long prevailed that the use of the light blue ribbon in the College hat was due to this incident. This is a mistake, as it appears almost certain that the light blue colour had been for some years adopted by the College, probably before its systematic use by the University.

It may be added that the present boat-house was built in 1878, at a cost of about £1,500. The original riverside home of the club consisted of two small wooden rooms at 'Upper Cross's' boat-house, a little below the ferry. From about 1844 to 1871 the club was housed in a room at Searle's, now Pocock's boat-yard.

PLACE OF THE FIRST BOAT AT THE END OF THE EASTER TERM RACES.

Year.	Place.	Year.	Place.	Year.	Place.
1827	3	1843	3	1859	7
1828	2	1844	1	1860	5
1829	7	1845	4	1861	7
1830	6	1846	11	1862	7
1831	6	1847	12	1863	15
1832	11	1848	4	1864	10
1833	4	1849	7	1865	8
1834	8	1850	7	1866	8
1835	6	1851	16	1867	12
1836	2	1852	15	1868	16
1837	2	1853	7	1869	16
1838	3	1854	8	1870	15
1839	1	1855	6	1871	11
1840	1	1856	13	1872	13
1841	1	1857	10	1873	11
1842	5	1858	7	1874	15

Year.	Place.	Year.	Place.	Year.	Place.
1875	... 16	1884	... 7	1893	... 10
1876	... 8	1885	... 6	1894	... 12
1877	... 2	1886	... 7	1895	... 9
1878	... 2	1887	... 7	1896	... 7
1879	... 3	1888	... 5	1897	... 6
1880	... 2	1889	... 5	1898	... 7
1881	... 5	1890	... 5	1899	... 10
1882	... 8	1891	... 6	1900	... 11
1883	... 7	1892	... 10		

Benedict Chapman: 1839-1852.

Benedict Chapman, thirtieth Master, was a son of Charles Chapman of Norwich, and was born in that city. He was educated at Norwich Grammar School, under Dr. Parr, and was admitted pensioner at our College, May 10, 1787, about the same time as his predecessor, Dr. Davy. He soon became a scholar on the foundation; graduated B.A., as Sixth Wrangler, 1792; M.A. 1795; and D.D., after his election to the mastership, in 1840. He was a Fellow of the College from 1792 till 1820, when he resigned on accepting the living of Ashdon, Essex. During his residence he showed himself an active man in College affairs, especially as concerned the bursarial business, but never took any prominent part in the educational work.

After twenty years of absence in a country parish he returned to Cambridge as Master of the College, having been elected June 11, 1839. It may be taken for granted that such an election,—Mr. Chapman was already in his seventieth year, and quite unknown in the literary or scientific world,—was influenced by

special motives. It is, indeed, no secret that in the minds of several of the electors his merits lay principally in the fact that he had reached an age which made it likely that there would be another election before long, when a very popular and excellent man, Dr. Paget, would have reached the statutable age for the mastership. The circumstances of the election precluded the possibility of Chapman's exercising any important influence on the studies or the social tone of the College. In fact, the days were long past when the Master, unless he happened to be of exceptional force of character, could exercise any influence on the studies of the place.

Tradition uniformly describes him as a courteous and kindly old gentleman, and as uniformly stops there. The main characteristic stamped on the memory of those who knew him is the dignified appearance he presented on horseback, and the blameless cut and tint of his top-boots. He lived much at his country rectory, and always rode the fifteen miles which lay between Ashdon and Cambridge. He was in all respects, political and academical, a strong Conservative.

Two events occurred towards the close of his life which seem to have greatly perturbed him. The first of these was the action of Mr. Tozer, a recently elected senior Fellow, who appealed to the Chancellor of the University to exercise his authority in reforming certain details in College procedure. Mr. Tozer was technically in the wrong, for appeals to the Chancellor could only be made in certain special cases, and then only by the consent of a majority of two-thirds of the Fellows. It may be thought that such an offence was a venial

one, but the old Master took it terribly in earnest. He wrote at once to the Chancellor,—Prince Albert,—pointing out that the appeal was not according to statute. Mr. Tozer was then summoned before a special College meeting, was solemnly reproved, and reminded that he had incurred the penalty of expulsion. Technically the Master was in the right, as has been said, but considering how numerous and wide were the everyday departures from both the spirit and the letter of the ancient statutes, it seems almost grotesque to attach such importance to a mistaken and unauthorized appeal to authority. How important the Master thought this incident is shown by his recording it in full in the 'Annals,' thus breaking the silence of two centuries; for this is the only entry in that volume since the time of the Commonwealth. This happened in 1849.

The other event was of a much more important and far-reaching character. The discussion which had for some time been carried on in Parliament and the press, as to the failure of the Universities to keep up with the demands of the time, culminated in 1850 in the appointment of a Royal Commission 'to enquire into the state, discipline, revenue, and studies of the University and Colleges.' The old Master probably regarded any such inquiry as little short of sacrilegious. He did not, indeed, like some of his colleagues, absolutely decline to give any information to the Commissioners, but his reply to them shows how keenly he resented their intention to disclose the secrets of College rule and revenue. After declaring that he has been informed that the Commission 'is not constitutional or legal,' and that he

'feels great reluctance to answer any of the questions sent to him,' he decides that

'as Her Majesty has been advised to issue the Commission, as a loyal subject of Her Majesty I return the following answers to the questions, out of an unfeigned respect to the Crown, under a strong and earnest protest against the exercise of such a power.'

On certain general subjects, as, for instance, the practice of private tuition, the evils of excessive credit from tradespeople, and the principles on which scholarships were commonly awarded, he expresses his opinion fully, and what he says seems very reasonable. He entirely declines, however, to answer the Commissioners as to the corporate income of the College, or the pecuniary value of the Fellowships and scholarships. So far, therefore, the report of the Commissioners, which was issued just before Dr. Chapman's death, was defective. The statutes of the College they could get at, for there was a copy in the Lambeth Library, and this they published. But the mutilated form in which they printed the 'Annals' shows the unfortunate result of the Master's well-meant obstinacy. The Commissioners only knew the volume as it was published by J. Ives in 1773, who attributed it, not to Dr. Caius, but to Francis Blomefield, and they printed it under this belief.

Dr. Chapman died at Ashdon, October 23, 1852, and was buried in the College chapel. There is a brass to his memory in the antechapel, and a monument at Ashdon. His portrait is in the Lodge. He was generous in his lifetime, as he gave £1,000 to the building fund in 1840. He also left a sum of money to increase the

endowment of the Norrisian professorship. So far as can be ascertained, he never published anything. Like Davy, he remained a personal friend of his old schoolmaster, Dr. Parr, three of his letters to whom have been printed in J. Johnstone's 'Works of Parr.'

During Dr. Chapman's time the accumulations for the future new buildings were steadily carried on, and on this account the actual changes made were very few and unimportant. In 1843 gas was introduced into the College, but only at first to light the courts; it was not until 1848 that it was extended to the chapel, hall, and kitchen. In 1850 the front, or Tree Court, was made more open by the removal of the wall on the left side of the path from the Gate of Humility to that of Virtue. Behind this wall, on the site of the present small garden, were formerly two little gardens, divided from each other by the wall built by Dr. Caius. The one next Caius' building was his 'President's garden'; the other belonged to one of the houses in that block of buildings which then stood in the south-east corner of our ground. These houses, as already mentioned, had been acquired in 1782, but no occasion had yet arisen for their occupation as College rooms. The increased number of students now made it desirable to utilize them for this purpose, and accordingly 'Barraclough's Building,' as it was called from the name of a former tenant, was incorporated into the College. It was a fine old red-brick house, with its front towards the Senate House, and with its west face opening on to the little garden mentioned above. In Bentley's time it was well known as the residence of Dr. Conyers Middleton. It accommodated about eight students, and was entered from our front court.

The religious and social character of a college varies greatly, as we have seen, from time to time. In former days the Master sometimes put his stamp upon the whole society, but in later times the determining influence was more often due to the tutor. In 1848 the advent of Charles Clayton as tutor produced a marked effect of this kind, and for some fifteen years Caius became known as the distinctively Evangelical College. But during the earlier years of Chapman's mastership the College reputation was of a very different kind. It was on the river that its main distinction lay, and its best-known members were a band of athletes of whom the most prominent were Baliol Brett, afterwards Lord Esher, and the three brothers Croker.

The following contemporary verses show the character popularly attributed to the College at this time:

'Know ye the college where men never shine
In aught but in quaffing the juice of the vine:
Where clouds of tobacco send forth a perfume,
That is plainly perceived pouring forth from each room?
The sounds that ye hear there are not like the lute,
For the voice of the rowing-man seldom is mute.
But the ale that they sell there,—I own it will vie
With any that's made, or sold, under the sky.
And the hue of their copus is brightest in dye.
'Tis the College of Caius.'

(*Vide* Whibley's 'Cap and Gown,' p. 140.)

The position of the boat on the river at this time (1839-1844) is a matter of history, but patriotic members of the College will indignantly repudiate the charge that it was not distinguished in aught else. On the contrary,

more than the average number of men of marked ability and distinction were trained during the ten years 1830-1840. George Green, for instance, the eminent physicist; no less than three judges, Baggallay, Pearson, and Brett; Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle; W. Elwin, editor of Pope; H. Drury, chaplain to the Speaker; T. Solly, metaphysician and logician; besides a considerable number of men who rose well above the average as authors, County Court Judges, and Churchmen. Besides the above, a considerable number of those who were Fellows of the College during the same period deserve especial notice: for instance, Dr. Guest; Professor Willis; Murphy, the mathematician; Sir G. Burrows and Sir G. Paget, physicians; Henry Bickersteth, afterwards Lord Langdale; I. P. Cory, historian; and Edward Jacob, who was about to be appointed a Judge at the time of his early death.

The principal event of domestic interest during this period was the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the College. The gathering was held in the old hall, January 28, 1848. The chapel service was at four, the dinner at five. The Master being absent from ill-health, Dr. Paget presided. As many guests as the hall would conveniently hold were invited, including the Vice-Chancellor, the Bishop of Norwich, the President of the College of Physicians, and many former members of the College. There was, naturally, no space for undergraduates, who were, indeed, mostly away, as it was still vacation time; but those in residence were accommodated at dinner in the lecture-rooms or elsewhere. The customary toasts were proposed, and suitable speeches delivered, of which that of

Dr. Paget seems especially to have attracted attention. Odes were also contributed, in accordance with a custom once common on such occasions in the University, both in Latin and English. By a happy coincidence the Mathematical Tripos list, which came out a few days before the dinner was held, showed an extraordinary success on the part of the College, no less than five of its members being high up amongst the Wranglers. The highest of these was C. F. Mackenzie, well known in after-years as missionary Bishop in Central Africa. Being called on to return thanks for his health, he made the reply quoted in the 'Memoir' of him, and which was so characteristic of the simplicity which distinguished him through life. His speech consisted of a sentence or two to the effect that he did not think there was anything for which to praise them, as he and his comrades 'had only done what was natural under the circumstances.'

CHAPTER X

THE MODERN PERIOD: 1852-1900.

'Come, sing of the new Triposes; come, sing a lively chorus;
No Mathematics now may vex, no Greek and Latin bore us!
* * * * *
Yes, by some sawbones you'll be coached, some cut-and-slash physician,
Or mineral-delving connoisseur of wondrous erudition.'

English rendering of Greek verses by R. Shilleto, from Whibley's 'Cap and Gown,' p. 228.

EDWIN GUEST: 1852-1880.

EDWIN GUEST, thirty-first Master, stands out prominently amongst the Heads of the College during the last two centuries, for his scholarship and his historical and antiquarian knowledge. In fact, we should have to go back to Dr. Brady to find anyone who could be put into the same category with him.

He was the son of Benjamin Guest, and was born in 1800. The family had long been settled at Row Heath, King's Norton, Worcestershire, where Dr. Guest inherited a small estate. They appear in the Heralds' Visitation of 1664. Dr. Guest's father entered into business in Birmingham, in order to retrieve the failing fortunes of

the family, and by his energy and enterprise realized a considerable fortune. He married a member of a Scotch family named Rio, but she died when her son was a child.

Edwin Guest was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and remained there till he became head of the school. His own judgment was that he should then have been placed under some first-rate tutor; but in deference to his father's wish he stayed on at the school for two years more, until he was over eighteen. He was apparently left to pursue his studies according to his own taste and judgment. This may have interfered with his subsequent success in the Tripos examinations, but it probably enabled him to lay the foundation of that wide historical knowledge and keen love of culture which he afterwards displayed. He was for a time a pupil of the artist, David Cox, and found this training of great use in enabling him to make the sketches with which he used to illustrate his historical papers. As regards his profession, it may be remarked that his own decided taste had been for the army, and that it was in deference to his father's wish that he acquiesced in the scholastic career.

He entered our College November 5, 1819, and was almost at once elected to a scholarship. He gained the first prize both in classics and in mathematics in each of the two years when this was open to him. He graduated B.A. in 1824 as Eleventh Wrangler, M.A. 1827, and LL.D. 1853. He was a Fellow of the College from 1824 until his election to the mastership.

Soon after taking his degree he went abroad, and travelled for some time, principally in Germany. He

stayed for a year at Weimar, where he was not only kindly received at the Grand-Ducal Court, but had also the honour and advantage of making personal acquaintance with Goethe. The promptitude with which he secured from England a copy of Shelley's translation of 'Faust,' in response to an inquiry by Goethe, seems greatly to have pleased the poet. With Schlegel also Guest secured much intercourse at Bonn, where he generally dined with him at the *table d'hôte*.

On his return to England, with his mind widened by an intercourse with distinguished foreigners then not often secured by Englishmen, he entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the Bar in 1828, and continued for some time to attend the Oxford Circuit. Gradually, however, as he became more absorbed in his favourite antiquarian studies, he laid aside all legal practice.

In 1839 he brought out his well-known work on 'English Rhythms.' This at once placed him in the first rank of original historical explorers. Being completely a pioneer in this branch of study, he had to examine almost every authority to which he resorted in the original MSS., as very few specimens of Early English poetry had then been printed. At this time he was actively engaged in the establishment of the Philological Society. Mr. Wedgwood, the first treasurer, says that 'the foundation of the Society was entirely his doing.' Mr. Guest, who was for some time secretary of the Society, was a diligent attendant at their meetings, and contributed many valuable papers.

About 1850 he purchased the estate of Sandford, near Steeple Aston, Oxfordshire. Here he threw him-

self heartily into the duties of a land-owner, spending much time in supervising the work on his farms, and especially attending to the building and repairs of the houses. After his election to the mastership, his duties, of course, kept him at Cambridge during term-time; but he always found it a great relief to get back to Sandford in the vacations.

On the death of Chapman in 1852, Mr. Guest was called back to take the post of Master. It will be remembered that, in speaking of Dr. Branthwaite's appointment, it was said that, excellent scholar as he was, it was not for his scholarship that he was appointed. The same statement may be repeated concerning Guest. His great distinction lay in a special line, and one in which no resident Fellow felt any interest. To a majority of the electors his merits lay in one negative qualification—that he was *not* a Norfolk man.

Briefly speaking, the history of the election was this: On the death of Chapman, there were at least two distinguished men who were in every way suitable for the post. One of these was Dr. Paget, who combined with admirable social qualities a wide knowledge of University and College affairs, and an eminent professional position. He would have admirably fulfilled the duties of the post, and his election at that time would probably have given a great stimulus to the medical school at Cambridge, where he had lived and worked all his life. A year or two earlier he would certainly have been chosen; but he had recently married, and was therefore no longer a Fellow. The other man referred to was Baron Alderson, at one time a Fellow, and long known as an eminent Judge. He would have come back as a stranger to

College affairs, but would have conferred the distinction due to his high judicial position. They were both natives of the Diocese of Norwich, and therefore, so far,* eligible according to the strict interpretation of the statutes. But this interpretation had long been regarded with growing dislike, and several of the electors were resolved to break, if possible, the hitherto unbroken tradition and practice of 500 years. Three scrutinies were held at the election. At the first two Guest obtained exactly half the votes. At the third he was induced to give his own vote for himself, which secured the requisite majority, and he was duly elected.

The election did not pass without strong and repeated protests, both at the time and in a subsequent pamphlet published by several ex-Fellows, and it must be admitted that the statutes were somewhat strained. There was also less occasion for the innovation at that particular time, since the complete change of statutes resultant on the proposals of the Commissioners was already imminent.

Dr. Guest's rule in College was uneventful, and, beyond serving his time as Vice-Chancellor, he took little or no part in University matters. If learned men at a distance thought that his advent would introduce a new era in the studies of the place, this only shows their lack of knowledge of the circumstances. Time was when the Head of a House had the powers of a great schoolmaster. But then each College carried on the education of the students according to its own methods,

* The words of Bateman's statute are that the Master should be 'socius ejusdem Collegii, si ad hoc reperiatur idoneus, aut alius nostræ Diocesis famosus.' Caius is more explicit in the same sense, and also insists that the Master shall be unmarried.

whereas now all were alike under the control of a general system enforced by public examinations. Dr. Guest, in spite of his many excellent qualities, had not quite the address or persistency which could carry on a struggle against the general spirit of the society in which he was placed. Probably, indeed, he would not have desired to introduce any change into the general curriculum of the students. He was an old-fashioned Conservative, who regarded classics and mathematics as the appropriate introduction to a sound education, and he would have utterly rejected the theory that a student should be allowed to specialize at will for his future profession. Where he was out of sympathy with those about him was in the use to be subsequently made of this groundwork. He would have liked to see the graduates do as he had done himself, and make their studies the starting-point for every kind of advanced research.

Liberalism at the University, as elsewhere about the middle of the century, was mainly destructive. Its one dominant principle was free competition, and its main notion of efficiency lay in the multiplication and refinement of examinations. On almost all questions—theological, political, and academical—Dr. Guest was a strong and consistent Conservative, and he perhaps regarded all the proposed changes as so bad that it was hardly worth trying to modify them. If so it was a pity, for even those who most heartily endorse the general reforms then introduced must admit that the way in which they were carried out in detail often shows an astonishing indifference to every antiquarian interest. Conservatives like Dr. Guest might have done a good deal if they had insisted,—whilst yielding

to the general pressure of the day,—on preserving more of those picturesque links with the past which are such characteristic features of our ancient colleges and Universities. To take but one instance: There must surely have been ways in which the value of the various scholarships and fellowships could have been rendered sufficiently nearly equal to meet the supposed claims of distributive justice without throwing them all into one fund, and dropping every reference to the names of the donors.

In his early life, during his stay at Weimar and at Bonn, Dr. Guest had been for a time attracted by the speculations which, when they afterwards became known in England, were commonly described as 'German Neology.' He examined these opinions carefully, and, with his usual thoroughness of research, studied the Hebrew language for this purpose. He came to the conclusion that these views were unsound, and during the rest of his life was known as a moderate Low Churchman.

He married, September 28, 1859, Anne, daughter of Joseph Ferguson, Esq., of Morton, Carlisle, and widow of Major Robert Murray Banner, 93rd Highlanders. In 1873 he had a slight attack of paralysis, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. In July, 1879, he was attacked with severe illness. As soon as he was somewhat recovered he sent in his resignation of the mastership, October 8, 1880. Shortly afterwards his illness returned with increased severity, and he died at Sandford, November 23, 1880. He was succeeded on October 27 by the present Master, the Rev. Norman Macleod Ferrers, F.R.S., who was at that time the senior tutor.

It is, of course, as a scholar rather than an administrator that Dr. Guest obtained reputation originally, and that his name will be preserved in future. His earliest work, and that on which, in the judgment of those competent to decide, his fame will principally rest, is his 'History of English Rhythms.' Professor Skeat says of this:

'It was the work of a pioneer, suggestive of many new points. . . . The study of phonetics has advanced of late years very rapidly; the most surprising thing is to find that Dr. Guest was already discussing such matters in 1838, when to pay any heed to them was quite exceptional.'

As Mr. Skeat adds, the fate of an explorer of this stamp is apt to be rather a hard one. His errors are noticed and criticised, whilst his real discoveries soon become such common property that later authors forget to whom it is that they originally owe them.

In later life his speculations on ancient history, in his 'Origines Celticæ' (published shortly after his death), cover a wide scope, and the opinions of experts differ considerably as to their value in the light of the resources now available. But on his special ground of early British and English History, where he laboured during most of his active life, the few who were competent to judge seem from the first to have formed the highest opinion of his extraordinary thoroughness and accuracy. Mr. Freeman's judgment is as follows:

'What we have from him is that wonderful series of discourses in which the progress of English conquest in the southern part of Britain was first set forth. No

lecturer, no writer, was ever more clear and convincing than Dr. Guest. He was the exact parallel in his own subject to Professor Willis (also of our College) in his subject. They both united, as few men have united, the qualifications of the indoor scholar and of the outdoor antiquary. Each of them had, in his own department, both read everything and seen everything, and each knew how to compare what he read with what he saw. Both belonged to that class of revealers of truth who bring order out of chaos and light out of darkness, who do their work at the first blow, so that it needs not to be done again. When any of us who have come after them have ventured on the ground which they have trodden, it has been only to gather up the gleanings after their vintage. There are other scholars from whom I may have learned more in quantity, because their writings cover a greater field; but there is none from whom I have learned more in quality, none from whom I have, within his own range, taken in so many thoughts which were absolutely new, but which, when they were once taken in, I never thought of disputing. Dr. Guest ranks with Palgrave and Kemble. Whenever they meet on the same ground, he ranks above Palgrave and Kemble. It is little indeed that he has left behind him; but that little is all of the purest gold.'

As the same authority says, Dr. Guest was a thorough outdoor student of antiquities, and his papers show how assiduous and energetic he was in exploring the various dykes and boundaries and ancient coast-lines whose position he desired to fix. Most of this work had to be done on foot.

'On these expeditions he occasionally walked as much as forty miles in a day. Often he went right ahead over

hedges and ditches and through tangled copsewood, to follow the course of some faint vestiges of dyke or boundary, taking for guide sometimes a labourer from an adjoining village, sometimes one whom he shrewdly suspected to be a poacher, who knew every turn and corner of the surrounding country.'

The changes to be recorded in the College during Guest's mastership were in some respects more numerous and extensive than the aggregate of all those which had taken place since the days of Dr. Caius. We are referring here, of course, to specific and intentional changes, for the slow and gradual modification by which the modern College and University was developed out of the medieval had been already effected before his time.

To begin with the buildings. Besides alterations in detail, there were two periods in which very extensive works of construction were carried on—one of these under Mr. Salvin, as architect, in 1853-54, and the other under Mr. Waterhouse in 1868-70. The first of these mainly affected the Gonville Court, and the then still partly open space to the west of it. The stone facing of the court, placed there just a hundred years before, was left untouched, but behind this face extensive alterations were made, the old hall being converted into rooms for Fellows, and the old library into rooms for students. The present new hall was built facing Trinity Hall Lane, and the present new library facing Trinity Lane. Over this new library six sets of students' rooms were built, whilst the space beneath it and the new hall was occupied by an extensive range of kitchen offices, sculleries, cellars, etc.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE NEW BUILDINGS FROM KING'S PARADE

The Master's Lodge was considerably enlarged, being now extended up to Trinity Hall Lane, with a new entrance from this side. The result of all this was that the ground to the west of the Gonville Court, which had hitherto contained some open space, and was sometimes called the 'Stable Court,' owing to its containing the Fellows' stables, was now entirely filled up with buildings. In the Caius Court nothing was done beyond opening a passage in the south-west corner to give access to the new lecture-rooms. These lecture-rooms were not the present handsome building, but a mere adaptation of the stables which had been built by Dr. Gooch more than a hundred years before. Till this time there had been no lecture-room in the College, but spare rooms were used for the purpose, and occasionally the hall. In the Tree Court the whole of the block of houses at the south-east corner, which had been bought in 1782, was converted into students' rooms pending the rebuilding of the court. One of these houses, 'Barraclough's,' had been thus absorbed a few years before; the rest were now utilized, and a considerable addition to the accommodation was thus gained.

The second great building work was undertaken about fifteen years later, and was mainly concerned with the Tree Court. The avenue of trees was spared as far as possible, but all the buildings were cleared away, from the Perse block on the north to the houses just described on the south. This extensive, and for the most part unavoidable, destruction involved less historic and antiquarian loss than usually follows under such circumstances. The Legge and Perse Buildings had been

already deprived, more than fifty years before, of the picturesqueness they once possessed; for they had been coated with cement, and the ancient chimneys removed. Some antiquarian regret is naturally felt at the destruction of the old wall of the Fellows' garden; for this had been built by Caius, and the sacrifice of the garden was a distinct loss to the Fellows. The space inside the court was, however, too small to allow of these walls being left. The only really questionable step consisted in the removal of the Gate of Humility. This was taken away from its ancient position opposite to St. Michael's Church, and set up first in Senate House Passage, and finally against a wall inside the Master's garden. This, of course, destroyed the significance of the symbolism which connected it with the two other gates, and many will regret that, instead of erecting a new so-called Gate of Humility, the old one was not left where it was, and built into the new fabric. But here, again, previous alterations had removed much of the present opportunity of doing mischief, for the gate had long before been so coated with cement that hardly any of the original work was to be seen. The whole of this large and handsome block of building was completed in 1870, having been commenced in 1868.

The rebuilding of the Tree Court involved, indirectly, several further changes. The east face of the Gonville Court, towards the garden, presented a rather rustic appearance which seemed out of harmony with its new surroundings. It must be remembered that the garden, owing to the height of the walls and the comparative lowness of the buildings opposite, was far more private

and secluded than would now be thought possible. The garden front of the Gonville Court was accordingly rebuilt, but with as little departure as possible from the old style. At the same time, it was resolved to alter the east end of the chapel, which had also now become much more conspicuous, and accordingly the present apse was built. The passage between the Gonville and Tree Courts was also now made.

Far more important, from the academic view, were the changes introduced into the statutes. To those who do not appreciate how things are carried on in a country with an ancient constitution, it may seem incredible that a body of statutes,—and very minute statutes,—of which the earliest dated from 1353 and the latest from 1572, were still professedly in force in 1856. It need hardly be said that they were not adhered to in their entirety. Whilst some of them were rigidly respected—for instance, the celibacy of the Fellows—and others very generally so—for instance, the local restrictions of Fellowships and scholarships—a very large number of regulations dealing with minor matters were universally disregarded. But for the two former questions, about which public feeling both in the University and in the country was somewhat keen, it is likely that the colleges would have been left to shuffle on for some time longer with their antiquated regulations. The question of the exclusion of Nonconformists excited, of course, still stronger public feeling, but this question was not yet touched by legislation.

The final outcome of the Royal Commission already mentioned, and of the Parliamentary Commission which followed it soon afterwards, was the abolition of the

ancient statutes, and the substitution of an entirely new set. The dominant principle of the new regulations was eminently characteristic, both on its good and bad side, of the Liberalism of the day. It was ruled that all Fellowships and scholarships should henceforth be regarded as simply 'rewards of merit'—that is, as prizes —and that the best way of making them so was to throw them all open to free competition. Accordingly, all restrictions in the way of birthplace, profession, private means, and so forth, were abolished, and the holders of these rewards were relieved from all the statutable duties formerly imposed upon them. In thus formally sanctioning the system of 'prize Fellowships,' the Commissioners perhaps considered that they were merely recognising by law what had long been creeping in as current practice; but it certainly does not appear as if they realized the enormous difference between the old conception and the new—the difference, that is, between regarding the Fellowship as the support of a student who was going to work, and the reward to one for work he had done. In the case of both Fellowships and scholarships, the restriction of such a large relative proportion of our endowments to Norfolk men had long been recognised as a serious grievance in our College. In early times the wealth, population, and proximity of the eastern counties had prevented this grievance from being strongly felt; but as time passed on, and men began to come from all parts of the kingdom and from the colonies, this county restriction became a real hindrance to the progress of the College.

What those with antiquarian or historical tastes will

most regret in the action of the Commissioners was the entire suppression of all *individuality* in the various endowments. Our College had, like all others, acquired, in the course of centuries and from many benefactors, a picturesque variety of endowments. Each donor in the long list had very naturally laid down the conditions under which his gift was to be enjoyed, and of course one of these conditions was the retention of his name. Dean Nowell touched a very common chord when he told Mrs. Frankland in her distress (see p. 90) that her scholars 'will most heartily pray to God for you during your life; and they and their successors after them, being still Mrs. Frankland's scholars, will honour your memory for ever and ever.' The Commissioners, however, in their zeal for rigid equality and simplicity, sanctioned the plan of throwing all the various endowments into one fund, and thus suppressing the names of the donors. It is difficult to conjecture their motives, for they must have known well enough that ordinary human beings do not care to leave their money to be spent anonymously. Perhaps they thought that the benefactor belonged only to the past. If so, they were fortunately in the wrong; but it is a curious commentary on their action that every subsequent benefactor (of whom we have had several) has insisted in his foundation deed that those who enjoy his liberality shall do so under his name. It seems a pity that men with the position and influence of Dr. Guest could not have interfered in behalf of those who were no longer able to speak for themselves.

Generally speaking, the changes introduced were in the way of relaxation of restrictions which experience

had shown to be injurious. This was eminently so, as already stated, in the case of the local restrictions which confined our Fellowships and scholarships to particular counties, towns, and schools, and in the condition of celibacy. It was also so in the case of restriction to persons in Holy Orders, though this had never prevailed to any mischievous extent in our College. All these restrictions were removed. Any 'British subject' was made eligible to any office or emolument; and, with the exception of the Deans, no Fellow was obliged to be in Orders or unmarried. At the same time certain new restrictions were introduced. Some of these were obviously necessary—as, for instance, the limit to the time during which a Fellowship could be held, now that the usual cause of vacation, marriage, was no longer operative. In some other cases the statutes now made compulsory what had formerly been optional—for instance, the colleges had originally been at liberty to present any priest to their livings; the practice of presenting one of themselves, long sanctioned by custom, was now enforced legally. Again, a distinct preference was now given to members of the College in the election to Fellowships, and to Fellows in the appointment to College offices, both of these being old usages which rested only on custom.

The above new statutes came into force in 1860. Since then there has been one general Commission, with the consequent alterations of the statutes of every college in 1880; and in our case, as in that of other colleges, repeated subsequent alterations in detail. It is impossible here to give any account of these changes, but perhaps the most important measures which have

thus been passed, so far as the general progress of the University is concerned, are the two following: (1) The entire abolition of religious tests for Fellowships. This was enacted by Parliament in 1871. (2) The taxation of the colleges for University purposes. This dates from 1880, and to this is due the increase in the stipends of the professors, and the large addition to the number of lecturers, demonstrators, etc.

The extensive changes made during the last fifty years in the internal management of the College are partly due to the above legislation, partly to what may be called the general spirit of improvement. In 1853 (to go back to the time when the present writer first entered the College) there were two mathematical lecturers and one classical. Practically this exhausted the whole instruction given in the College, for the half-dozen or so of 'Moral Philosophy' lectures given by the catechist for the year, and the lectures given, by one of the mathematical lecturers, in Divinity, may be charitably left out of account. At the present day lectures are given, in College, in eleven or more different subjects, by men specially appointed for the purpose, and those who require anything outside this range are also provided for. Simultaneously with this widening of the range of instruction has been the change of principle on which Fellowships are awarded. It may now be said fairly that all subjects of academic study are put on the same general footing, so far as claims for reward are concerned. Thus, in 1853 there were thirty Fellows, including the Master, every one of whom had been elected on the ground of his place in either the Classical or Mathematical Tripos, five in the former and twenty-

five in the latter. At present (1900) there are twenty-seven, the respective grounds of their election (or re-election, as professorial Fellows) being thus distributed: Classics, nine; Mathematics, six; Biology, four; Theology, two; Chemistry, two; Medicine, one; Law, one; Archæology, one; Music, one.

The following brief summary indicates the principal alterations and additions to our buildings since 1870.

As already remarked, the Master's stables were converted into lecture-rooms, in a somewhat makeshift way, in 1853. The present complete and well-fitted rooms were substituted in 1884, at a cost of £3,560.

Owing to the confined space on which the College is built, we had more difficulty than some other colleges in providing a suitable house for a married tutor. In 1886 accommodation was provided for this purpose, chiefly by utilizing the chambers constructed in 1853 out of the ancient hall, an entrance being made to the house from Trinity Lane. The total cost of this was £1,584 15s.

The old Fellows' garden was practically sacrificed when the Tree Court was rebuilt in 1868-69. A new garden was laid out in 1885 at Newnham, on ground which had long been offered for building purposes, but, fortunately, negotiations having fallen through, it was reserved for its present destination.

The great addition to the accommodation of students gained by the purchase of Rose Crescent dates from 1887. Unlike every other college in Cambridge, the space on which our building stood was so contracted that no additions could be made without going outside.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE NEW BUILDINGS FROM INSIDE

Fortunately the College was able to secure the south side of Rose Crescent, nearly opposite our gate, and this was temporarily converted into students' chambers. It was called 'St. Michael's Court,' as it overlooks the church of that name. Arrangements are now being made for rebuilding the whole block of houses in collegiate style.

CHAPTER XI

THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS

The Chapel.

Our chapel does not at first sight appear very old, but it is, in fact, far the most ancient of our buildings, its antiquity being disguised by the stone facing placed over the surface in 1718. The original building is there, however, as was shown in 1895, when the surface was removed in two places in order to make openings for hot-water pipes. The ancient structure was then disclosed, the walls being very thick and of clunch faced with red brick.*

The exact date of erection is not known, but the building was probably completed by 1375, or even earlier, for we are told that John Ufford, son of the Earl of Suffolk, and former fellow-commoner of the

* As everyone who observes the old buildings in and about Cambridge must have noticed, the ancient bricks are very different from the modern. They are always red, whereas the bricks now made of the local gault are of a dingy white. The shape is also different, the old bricks being a trifle longer and much thinner. Clunch is the name given to the hard chalk found in the neighbourhood. It was formerly much used for building purposes in Cambridge, as no good stone is to be found within many miles.

College, who died in that year, was the donor of one of the windows. A license to build a chapel had been obtained at the very first, namely, in 1353, before the present site of the College was secured; but the earliest reference to it as in actual use is a license by John Fordham, Bishop of Ely, dated November 22, 1389, granting permission for services to be held 'in the oratory or chapel of the College.' This license was for three years, and was followed by a permanent license from Pope Boniface IX., dated November 13, 1393.

This building was considerably shorter than the present one, being only 68 feet long; that is, it ended where the monument to Dr. Caius now stands. The ante-chapel was almost exactly the size of our present one. Like all the other buildings in the College, it was supplied at an early date with coloured glass windows. These seem to have been in existence 200 years afterwards, in Dr. Caius' time, as he thus describes them:

'The first on the left has this inscription, Pray for the soul of William Rougham, who caused this chapel to be built. The same inscription is on the east window. The second on the left has the name of Nicholas Bottisham inscribed. The one opposite to this is by John of Ufford. The one next this is by Henry de Spencer, Bishop of Norwich.'

Of these, William Rougham was Master of the College, 1360 to 1393; Nicholas Bottisham, probably Vicar of Capel, Suffolk; John Ufford, mentioned above, Archdeacon of Suffolk; Henry Spencer, the famous warrior Bishop. These windows were all smaller than the present ones. When they disappeared we do not know,

but a new east window was inserted in 1583 by Francis Dorington, and probably destroyed in 1637. This last was a sign of amity and forgiveness, as Dorington had been one of the most turbulent Fellows in the time of Dr. Caius. It displayed his own arms, together with those of Gonville, Bateman, and Caius, with the words 'amice fecit.'

For many years the chapel was only a private oratory, the rights of the parish church being, as usual, carefully preserved. It was not until September 5, 1476, that permission was given by the Bishop for the celebration of Mass. Eighteen years later Bishop Alcock, of Ely, the founder of Jesus College, formally consecrated our chapel. As his Act Book says, 'On February 25, 1493-94, the Lord Bishop, in the Hall of Gonvyll, Cambridge, dedicated or consecrated a certain chapel there, and in Pontificals celebrated a solemn mass there.' One more license was still to follow. Hitherto the rights of St. Michael's, the parish church, had been preserved as regards the burial of those who died in College. On May 16, 1500, a Bull of Alexander VI. was issued, which allowed the Master and Fellows to reserve the Sacrament and to bury their dead in the chapel. At the same time permission was granted to the students at the College hostel (Physwick's) to attend our chapel instead of their parish church. As has been already said (p. 23) it is not improbable that this favour was obtained through the agency of one of the Fellows, Thomas Cabold, who at this time held an important office at the Papal Court. The permission to bury was soon made use of, as our earliest dated monument is the brass to Walter Stubb, a Fellow, who died in 1514.

Hitherto the usual place of burial seems to have been the north aisle of St. Michael's Church.

The ornaments in the way of church furniture in early days must have been rich and numerous, and dated from the time of the first foundation. Caius, for instance, tells us that the 'precious vestments of white linen, embroidered with gold,' given by Bishop Bateman, were still in use in his student days on the great festivals of the Virgin. Many other valuable ornaments, cups, vestments, etc., had been given by successive Masters and Fellows. Most of these probably survived the actual Reformation owing to Dr. Caius' care and secrecy, and were amongst the 'Massing abominations' which the Fellows destroyed in the bonfire of 1572, already recorded.

The usual hour for morning service until the time of Caius, and probably for many years afterwards, was five o'clock. Attendance was rigidly required on the part of every member of the College.

So long as the Gonville Court constituted the entire College, the entrances to the chapel and to the Lodge were directly from this court. When Caius built the second court, part of the Master's Lodge was taken to make a passage-way. A new entrance to the chapel was then made on one side of this passage, as at present, and facing it an entrance to the Master's Lodge.

The first important alteration in the chapel was undertaken in 1637, when the College, as we have already seen, was full to overflowing. Its length was increased from 68 feet to 90 feet. The present ceiling was then constructed, the old one having become much

decayed. Some alterations were also made in the windows, so that probably whatever was still left of the ancient glass now disappeared. The lengthening of the building required the removal of Dr. Caius' tomb, which was originally placed on the ground, at the north-east corner. It was now placed in its present position against the north wall. It was probably at this time that the original stone cover of the altar was removed, as we are told that Dr. Cosin, formerly of the College and afterwards Bishop of Durham, gave £10 to buy a Communion-table. According to what Blomefield says ('Collectanea,' p. 101) this stone was still to be seen in his day, 1727, in the ante-chapel, marked with the customary crosses in the corners. Nothing of this kind is now to be seen. The builders' accounts for these alterations are preserved in our Treasury, and have been printed in Willis and Clark's 'Architectural History.'

The next important alteration, and that which transformed the outside appearance from the medieval to the modern, was started in 1716 by the gift of £500 from Mr. Lightwin, one of the Fellows, 'for repairing and beautifying the chapel.' Other subscriptions were added, to the amount of £365, and about £1,880 contributed from College funds. The east end was rebuilt and the whole of the outside was faced with stone, to the thickness of which the present heavy appearance of the buttresses is due. These buttresses were at first crowned with stone vases, terminated with stone flames. A large wainscot altar-piece of oak was set up at the east end, flanked by lofty Ionic columns, between which was a large picture of 'The Annunciation,' a

copy by a painter named Ritz, after Carlo Maratti. This work was done under Mr. J. James, the architect who designed St. George's, Hanover Square. One piece of antiquity was sacrificed at this time, namely, the ancient 'sacred turret,' shown in Loggan's picture. It stood a little to the east of the present bell-tower, and was the means of approach to the room over the ante-chapel. This room had hitherto been used as the College Treasury. On the removal of this staircase it was attached to the Lodge, and has been used ever since as a bedroom.

The final alterations were made in 1870 by Mr. Waterhouse, the architect of the new court. The chapel was slightly lengthened by the addition of an apse, which, of course, entailed the removal of the altar-piece. The colouring was removed from the panels of the ceiling so as to show the oak surface, and the walls were decorated. At the same time the organ-gallery was constructed, music having been recently introduced into the chapel service.

As regards monuments, we have two old brasses. One of these is to the memory of Walter Stubb, brother of the Master. This is dated 1514. The other represents a knight in armour, probably one of our early Norfolk benefactors; but the four coats of arms by which it might have been identified had disappeared by Blomefield's time.

Of the regular monuments in the chapel, far the most important and interesting is, of course, that to Dr. Caius. As we have already seen, the design and arrangement of this tomb had occupied his attention on the occasion of his last visit to Cambridge, a few

weeks before his death. Theodore Haveus was the artist whom he selected, and the following are the charges recorded for the work:

The severall charges of the Tombe—			
For Alabaster and carriage ...	10	10	0
To Theodore and others for carving	33	16	5
To labourers		18	1
Charges extraordinarie ...	2	0	2
	£47	4	8

The skull at the top is a plaster cast of that of Dr. Caius, taken when the tomb was opened in 1891. The marble skull which originally stood there is now behind this.

The other monuments are those of (1) Thomas Legge, Caius' successor as Master, who died in 1607; (2) Stephen Perse, M.D., the great benefactor to the College and town: died 1615; (3) John Gostlin, M.D., President of the College, and benefactor; (4) William Webb, a young Fellow-commoner, and nephew of Dr. Branthwaite, the Master: he died in 1613, in College; (5) Sir Thomas Gooch, the well-known Master and Bishop of Ely: died 1754. In the ante-chapel are the two brasses already mentioned, and monumental slabs to (1) John Smith, the Master, died 1795; (2) Martin Davy, Master, died 1839; (3) Sir James Burrough, Master, died 1764; (4) Benedict Chapman, Master, died 1852; (5) Robert Woodhouse, Fellow, a distinguished mathematician, died 1828. Several other memorial stones are recorded as having once lain in the

From a photograph by [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE CHAPEL

ante-chapel, but no trace of them is now to be seen. One of these was probably to Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who died in the College in 1556.

As regards the glass windows, these are all quite modern, the ancient glass having entirely disappeared. There are now four, namely: (1) To Dr. Guest, Master. This displays scenes connected with the life of St. Augustine. It was given by Mrs. Guest. (2) To Rev. A. W. W. Steel, for some years tutor of the College. It represents scenes from the life of St. Paul, and was subscribed for by friends. (3) To the late G. J. Romanes, F.R.S., presented by his widow. It shows scenes 'representative of the recognition of Christ after doubt.' (4) To Sir G. Paget, late Fellow and Regius Professor of Physic, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Thomson. Besides these there are five small windows inserted when the apse was built in 1870, and representative of miracles of healing. The mosaics, by Salviati, were designed at the same time. They represent scenes of Gospel instruction.

The Hall.

The ancient hall is still existent, so far as the walls and most of the roof are concerned, the greater part of it having been converted into chambers in 1854, and since then modified into a residence for the tutor. The old building was erected in 1441. It was 48 feet long, and 24 feet wide, and had an open timber roof. The floor was raised about 5 feet above the ground. It was approached by the present doorway to the tutor's house. Like the other buildings, the hall was at a very early

date supplied with glass windows. Apparently there were seven, thus described by Dr. Caius:

'The northern window Mr. William Sponne, Archdeacon of Norfolk, caused to be made; the eastern one, next to the north, Mary Clynt and her brother Henry; the one next to this Thomas Warner, former Fellow of the College; the one opposite to this, towards the west, Dr. John Crouch, Dean of Chichester and former Fellow.'

The north window, of course, looked on to Trinity Lane; it will be remarked that there were originally windows on the west side, for the space now closely built over was then an open garden. The turbulent proceedings of which, as we shall see presently, the hall was often the scene, probably did not allow a long average life to the windows, and they seem all to have been renewed in 1589, when fresh ones were presented. These were the gift respectively of Thomas Martin, LL.D.; Francis Dorington, Fellow; Thomas Stuteville, Esq., of Dalham; Thomas Legge, Master; and Richard Swale, President. When these were removed or destroyed we do not know, but the building contained nothing but plain modern glass within existent memory.

This old hall continued in use, with comparatively slight alterations, for more than four centuries. Dr. Caius tells us that there used to be a lanthorn to the roof.

'There was a lanthorn in the centre of the hall, surmounted by a huge dragon that moved with every wind. Both were of lead, and so heavy that in stormy weather it was feared they would break down the roof with their

weight. Both were therefore taken away within my recollection, about 1531.'

Its ancient appearance, inside, was first interfered with in 1792, when the original open roof was concealed by a plaster ceiling. Other alterations in the way of increased comfort were made at the same time, in particular by the introduction of a stove and chimney.

It may be remarked that no attempt was made to warm the old hall during the first 200 years. It was in those days rather large in proportion to the demands on it, and, from what Caius tells us, we may conclude that when the cold became unbearable the Master and Fellows retreated to a small parlour which stood under the present combination-room. He adds a very interesting account of the circumstances under which the first attempt to warm the hall was made. In 1556 Nicholas Shaxton, former Fellow and Bishop of Salisbury, died in College. He left 'the hangings of his chamber, of green saye (satin)' to cover the bare walls, and also bequeathed £20 for warming purposes. Humphrey Busbey, Fellow, and Thomas Barwick, Fellow-commoner, aided with further subscriptions.

'Hereupon a new brazier, of large size, capable of being moved upon wheels, cleverly fashioned of new iron, was placed in the hall in October, 1565. It weighed 353 lb., and cost £8 17s. A fire was first lighted in it on All Saints' Day, 1565. Before this no fire had ever been lighted in the hall.'

The conditions laid down show how keenly the gift was appreciated. It was restricted to the period between November 1 and February 2, on Sundays and feast-days;

on common days only if the Master thought it sufficiently cold; it is not irrelevant to remark that then, and long afterwards, the Master always dined in Hall with the Fellows. The allowance of fuel at each meal was limited to a bushel of charcoal or two faggots. A grudging gift we might think it at the present day, but it was then thought worthy of being celebrated by a special grace. The students were to sing certain verses from Psalms xxxiv. and civ., and to conclude with a short prayer. Those who missed attendance at the grace were not to have a place near the fire, and if this pious commemoration were omitted, the gift was to lapse for a time to Trinity Hall. The hall, it must be remembered, had not a wooden floor. It was paved with tiles in 1615, and with freestone in 1681, these being doubtless covered with rushes.

The present hall was built in 1854, Mr. Salvin being the architect. It is 74 feet long and 33 feet broad, the area being thus more than double that of the old one. The only antiquities in it are some of the pictures and the Royal Arms. The latter are referred to in our accounts for 1683: 'For carrying the King's Arms, bringing them from Lynn, and for gilding and setting them up in the hall.' The old hall was then converted into chambers, and, as already stated, subsequently fitted up for the tutor's house. Some of the attic rooms still show the ancient timbers of the roof.

The hall has been put to a variety of uses other than that for which it is mainly intended. For instance, it was the customary place for general festive purposes in old times. At Christmas the scene there must have been lively enough, and doubtless the fire was allowed

to consume a good deal more than its scanty bushel of fuel. Many of the poorer students, and those who came from far, then stayed in College, and doubtless indulged in the various pranks in which a set of rough schoolboys would find their pleasure. Even the sternness of Dr. Caius so far relaxed as to suffer games of cards at that season, and we can suppose that the hall then sometimes became what a schoolroom is apt to become when the masters have retired from the scene. The 'salting' of the freshmen was regularly held in the hall. This was a ceremony of initiation, somewhat resembling in its rough horseplay the ordeal undergone by sailors and others 'crossing the line' for the first time. The newcomers being all assembled, each was called upon in turn to sing a song or deliver some 'sentiment.' Those who gave satisfaction were rewarded with draughts of beer, and those who failed were drenched with salt and water.

The stage-plays were a more elaborate performance, and carried out with the sanction of the College. There was never any gallery in our hall; but probably some kind of stage was fitted up for the occasion, and doubtless no little disturbance often arose when the place was densely packed with students. In our accounts for 1616 there is an entry 'for mending the hall windowes broken at the comedie.' An extract from the State Papers will also serve to show what sometimes ensued on such occasions. The Vice-Chancellor writes in complaint of one Punter, of St. John's, and relates how 'he was detectid of much disorder; as, namely, that he had uncased (as they call it) one of the stagekeepers of Caius Colledge, pluckinge off his visor;' that he had then made a similar

disturbance at Trinity, and 'had almost set that house and St. John's together by the eares.' Finally, 'to revenge himselfe for that repulse had prively crept into Benet (Corpus) and takinge upon him the habite of a stagekeeper did assault one of Trinity, whom also he afterwards challenged into the fields.' This took place in December, 1579, when that dramatic enthusiast, Dr. Legge, ruled over our College. It shows very vividly how numerous these plays then were, and to what scenes of turbulence they were apt to lead.

During the seventeenth century, and probably the eighteenth, the hall was used for lecturing purposes, there being then no regular lecture-rooms. Similarly with examinations. Dr. Caius prescribed the chapel for this purpose, and the practice was adhered to for a century or more, but after a time the hall came to be used instead. The students' declamations also, which played such a large part in their former training, were commonly delivered here. In modern times the large size of the building has made it very convenient for concerts, and since the establishment of a musical society in 1865 such concerts have been regularly held there.

One other ancient use for this building may be mentioned. Though we have no direct evidence of the infliction of chastisement on our students, it seems certain that when it was resorted to the hall was the scene of operation. Dr. Swale, a tutor in Dr. Legge's time, declared of a certain contumacious youth, that had he had his own way 'he would have beaten him openly in the hall.' So in a stern decree of the Heads against bathing, it is expressly enacted that

those guilty of this offence should be 'chastised, openly and publickly, in the common hall, in the presence of the fellows, scholars, and pensioners.' The College stocks also, in which the refractory bachelor, whether a Fellow or not, was confined, commonly stood here. As we have seen, Dr. Caius was by no means disposed to let these stocks remain disused while he continued in power.

As regards the actual dinner arrangements in early days, something has been already said (p. 29). As it happens, the only historic glimpse of a dinner refers to a feast in Queen Mary's time:

'On Sonday frost and fayre and no sermon throwghe the towne. *Item* Gonville Hall feast this daye wher dyned Dr. Walker, Mr. Rust and Mr. Redman and their wyvys, Doct. Harvey and Mowsse, Messrs. Bucknam, Edwards, Barret, and 3 Bedells, with Benet Prime and his companye playinge.'

This curious picture of a feast, with ladies present and the accompaniment of music, is from Mere's 'Diary' (Lamb's 'Documents,' p. 187). The presence of ladies at a college table must have been an innovation consequent on the laxity and disturbance of the Reformation; it was shortly afterwards forbidden by statute.

In Elizabethan times, when students began to flock to college, coming from various ranks in society, the old custom of a single table was abandoned, and a rather complicated arrangement took its place. There were no less than five divisions. First there was the Fellows' table, at which the Master presided, and where

also the Fellow-commoners and resident M.A.'s sat. Secondly there was the Bachelors' table; followed by those, thirdly, of the scholars, and, fourthly, of the pensioners. From various references in our accounts, etc., it would seem that these tables corresponded to a certain social precedence, and that their occupants were not necessarily confined to the class after which they were named. A student, for instance, was sometimes assigned on his first arrival to the scholars' or Bachelors' table. The fifth class, that, namely, of sizars, had no table of their own, but waited on the Fellows, and afterwards finished what they left.

Originally there were two regular daily meals: dinner and supper. When we first hear of them the former was at ten a.m., and the latter probably about five p.m. These hours gradually shifted onwards, until in the early part of the nineteenth century dinner was at three and supper at nine. The supper was abolished in our College in 1814, and the dinner-hour gradually crept on till, in 1878, it reached seven p.m.

The normal plainness of the fare was relieved by numerous feasts, and still more numerous entertainments, in the way of wine and dessert, etc., these latter being probably held in the combination-room. Some of these were private to the Fellows, but many embraced the whole College. How numerous the feasts were may be judged by the fact that no less than nineteen of them were suppressed in 1780. Some were of very ancient standing—for instance, those on the principal commemoration days. Some were due to private benefaction. Thus, John Carter in 1504 left a bequest to the College, adding a sum of money to be spent

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE HALL

'amongst the fellows, at their dinner or supper, in amending of their repast, and then to remember the souls aforesaid,' viz., of Carter and his relations. Bishop Shaxton in 1556 left the rent of a house, 'to solace the company at home yearly at Christmas.' Then, there were suppers on many private occasions, *e.g.*, when a student became a Fellow, when a Fellow obtained a living, or when almost any degree was conferred. As regards these latter occasions, the curious fact may be pointed out that, historically speaking, the present fees for the superior degrees represent simply the commutation for the customary supper. This custom gradually became fixed during the seventeenth century. The following (1702) is one of many similar notices in our books: 'That Mr. Hunt have his degree for M.D. passed, upon condition that he . . . makes a public entertainment, or in lieu thereof pays £12.'

The culinary reputation of the College, it may be remarked, is of old standing. Thus, Christopher Smart, writing in 1741, speaks of

> 'The sons of culinary Kays
> Smoking from the eternal treat,
> Lost in ecstatic transport gaze. . . .'

The present musical grace at some of our feasts is only the revival of an ancient practice. Thus Caius prescribes in his statutes that the 'scholares musici et organistæ' were never to be absent on feast-days. We have already mentioned the special grace for the fire.

Our account-books fix the date when earthenware was first introduced in place of pewter. This was in 1783, but seemingly only at the Fellows' table. In

1795 an order was passed 'that the annual stipend of £2 13s. 4d. for cleaning pewter should cease, and earthenware only be used.' The first reference to *glass* is in 1705, when 14s. was paid 'for a dozen of double flintglasses.' These must have been for the special use of the Fellows.

The Library.

The shell of the old library still stands, in common with the rest of the west side of the Gonville Court. It was built in 1441, and, being 44 feet long, must have been far more extensive than the existing demands of the College required. Like the hall and the chapel, it was at an early date provided with glass windows, of which Dr. Caius mentions ten, as follows:

'The first . . . is by John Doggett, treasurer of Chichester; the second and third by William Lyndwood, bishop of St. David's; the fourth and fifth by Thomas Mark, archdeacon of Norfolk. The others are by Dr. Boleyn, master; Dr. John Clynt, William Green, and Geoffrey Champney, Fellows.'

He also tells us that on the staircase was a window displaying the likeness of two sons of the Duke of Suffolk in their doctors' robes. These were in all likelihood two Fellow-commoners, members of the great ducal house of De la Pole, of the time of Henry VIII. The window presented by the great canonist, Bishop Lyndwood, expressly recorded his residence in our College. It is a sad pity that every memorial of the prelates and statesmen and scholars of the past, who once dwelt within our walls, should have been so completely lost.

This ancient building stood, with very slight changes, till 1853-54, when the new library was built by Mr. Salvin. It was then converted into students' chambers, one set of which was subsequently, in 1891, adapted for use as a small combination-room.

The cases in the library were moved with the books in 1854, and are fairly old. In their present form they appear to date from 1707, when a sum of £49 10s. was paid 'for raising the classes in the library.' In ancient times the books were of course all carefully chained to their places. There is an entry, in 1620, 'for carrying up to the Treasury the chaines and the iron barres that were taken from the bookes and off the deskes in the library.'

In 1710 we have the benefit of a learned foreigner's report about our library, which shows that, like many other things in Cambridge, it showed the neglect and sloth of the time. Baron Offenbach tells us that he arrived in our College on July 31, but found the librarian absent, which was not surprising in the Long Vacation. A Fellow, however, who happened to be present, hearing that he wanted to consult some of the MSS., told him that he had a key of the room in which they were kept, and accordingly led him thither. Offenbach describes the room as a wretched garret under the roof, the upper steps of the stairs covered with pigeons' dung, and the MSS. lying on the floor smothered in dust. The room thus referred to was an attic lying over the regular library, and had only recently been used to accommodate the MSS. It had been used for various purposes, having been at one time attached to the Lodge, and in 1583 converted into 'studies' for students. It

has now for a long time served as servants' bedrooms in the Lodge.

Though the library was not built till 1441, the accumulation of books dates from the foundation of the College. Bishop Bateman may be considered the first donor, and most of the subsequent Masters and Fellows, in early days, added to the collection. It may be remarked that, as far as we know, the losses have been few. Of course this may be largely due to sheer neglect rather than to deliberate care, but the fact remains that whenever we can obtain definite mention of books, in wills and early deeds, we generally find that they are still on our shelves. For instance, Walter Crome left seven books in 1452; we certainly still have six of them. John Beverly left seventeen books in 1462; we still have, if not all, at least sixteen of these. The contents of the library were, in fact, until quite recent times, almost entirely the result of gift and bequest, several of the Masters, in particular, having left very large collections of books, and hundreds of other persons, mostly Fellows and Fellow-commoners, having contributed to some extent. This mode of accretion will account for the fact that our library, like many others, contains so many repetitions of the same books. It adds, however, especially in the case of the earlier books, a considerable element of personal interest. Many volumes have the names of the donors inscribed, as, for instance, most of those given by Dr. Caius. In Higden's 'Polychronicon' (No. 82) is the note, 'Caucio M^ri^ H. Osborne, expos. ciste Lyng, 1408.' That is, it was the pledge left by Osborne in one of the University chests for the payment of a fee or keeping of an act.

Our MS. No. 394 is evidently a breviary once in use in the chapel. It has the following lines at the end:

'Wher so ever y be come over all
I belonge to the Chapell of gunvylle hall;
He shal be cursed by the grate sentens
That felously faryth and berith me thens.
And whether he bere me in pooke or sekke,
For me he shall be hanged by the nekke,
(I am so well beknown of dyverse men)
But I be restored theder agen.'

Present Antiquities in the College.

Those who dwell in an ancient college may like to know what there is of antiquity still surviving about them. Most of the following details have been already alluded to, but it may be convenient to refer to them again briefly.

The Gonville Court, having been entirely refaced in the eighteenth century, shows at present nothing earlier than the cupola over the combination-room, erected in 1728. But behind the stone facing, on the west side of the court, are still the ancient walls of 1441; and the timber roof-beams, of the same date probably, may be seen in the attics of the tutor's house and Master's Lodge.

Of what is now visible, the oldest building is certainly the wall of the Master's garden, facing Trinity Hall, which probably dates from 1480-90.

The Caius Court has been practically left unaltered since it was built by Dr. Caius in 1565, except that the ancient 'sacred tower,' against the chapel, has been removed, and the chapel wall faced with ashlar. In the

chapel itself are two ancient brasses, the next monument in date being that to Dr. Caius, of 1575. Of the three famous gates, those of Honour and Virtue have been untouched, except by decay, and consequent slight repair; the Gate of Humility, much coated with plaster, is standing now in the Master's garden.

In the Front Court all is new, except the trees and the wall to the south. This latter is doubtless of the eighteenth century. The two stone tablets which formerly stood on the front of the buildings due to Perse and Legge in this court, and which record the fact of their benefaction, are now standing on the north side of this wall. The hinges still visible in the Gate of Virtue remind us of the period before the Tree Court was occupied, when, of course, the passage had to be closed here at night.

As regards antiquities in detail, these are mostly to be found in the library, amongst our MSS., for they have been accumulating since the foundation of the College. Two old astrolabes, however, deserve notice. One of these, in all probability, is coeval with the College, as there is strong ground for supposing, from its date and other considerations, that it belonged to Walter Elveden, one of our very earliest members, and has been carefully preserved ever since. The other belonged to Caius, and was given by him.

There is one fragment, and one only, of ancient glass still preserved. This consists of a small window on the north side of the Master's room, over the passage between the Caius and Gonville Courts. It contains the arms of Gonville, Bateman, and Caius, and was in all probability placed there by Caius himself.

So much of the College plate has been exchanged in early times, and so much was lost in the great robbery in 1800, that there are not many pieces of real antiquity left. Several, however, are of considerable value and interest. In particular, there are two ancient cocoanut cups, with silver-gilt mounting, dating probably from about 1470; Dr. Caius' caduceus—a silver rod with serpents entwined, given solemnly by him, as already described, on the refoundation of the College in 1558; Archbishop Parker's chalice and flagon, given by him about 1571; a silver-gilt flagon of 1609, the gift of William Webb, whose monument is in the chapel; the travelling camp plate of Lord Hopton, given by his chaplain, Richard Watson, a former Fellow; and a pair of cups given by Glisson, the great physiologist, at one time a Fellow.

We have a large collection of portraits, but the great majority are more or less modern. Of the older ones, the following deserve notice: In the library the portrait of Theodore Haveus, Caius' architect friend. In the combination-room the possibly contemporary portrait of Dr. Caius, and the three portraits of the Trapps family, including Mrs. Frankland, the benefactress. As a picture, one of the best here is that of Lord Chancellor Thurlow. In the hall the very fine portrait of Dr. Caius, now suitably fixed at the head of the room. In the Master's Lodge the small panel portrait of Dr. Caius, and one of William Harvey, the physiologist. The portraits of all the Masters are preserved here, from Caius onwards, with the single exception of William Dell, the Commonwealth intruder.

CELEBRITIES OF THE COLLEGE

THOSE members of the College who find interest and encouragement in recalling the names of such predecessors as have attained distinction may care to peruse the following list. It cannot claim to be complete, as the means of identification in very early times are imperfect; but it may be considered authentic, and the omitted celebrities must be few in number. It has been attempted to draw the line at what may be called 'D. N. B. standard'; though several whom that dictionary includes are here omitted, and others who are there omitted have been inserted. The date indicates their first known connection with the College. It need hardly be said that some of them appear also in the corresponding lists of other Colleges. Fuller particulars about them are given in the 'Biographical History,' vols. i., ii.

Bishops.—John Colton, Abp. of Armagh, 1349; Jo. Rickinghale, Chichester, 1416; Wm. Lyndwood, St. David's; Wm. Repps, Norwich, 1509; Nich. Shaxton, Salisbury, 1506; Wm. Moore, Suffragan of Colchester, 1503; Jo. Skipp, Hereford, 1513; Fr. White, Carlisle, Norwich, Ely, 1579; Jo. Cosin, Durham, 1610; Wm. Lucy, St. David's, 1615; Jer. Taylor, Down and Connor, 1626; Fr. Marsh, Limerick, Kilmore, Abp. of Dublin, 1651; Jo. Hartstongue, Ossory, Derry, 1676; Thos. Gooch, Bristol, Norwich, Ely, 1691; Edm. Keene, Chester, Ely, 1730; Jo. Warren, St. David's, Bangor, 1747; Ch. Moss, St. David's, Bath and Wells, 1727; Jo. Brinkley, Cloyne, 1783; Wm. Ward, Sodor and Man, 1787; Harvey Goodwin, Carlisle 1835.

Colonial Bishops.—Jacob Mountain, Quebec, 1769; C. F. Mackenzie, Central Africa, 1846; Herb. Bree, Barbados, 1846; H. B. Bousfield, Pretoria, 1851; Fred. Wallis, Wellington, 1872; Ch. O. L. Riley, Perth, 1874.

Judges.—Nich. Hare, Master of Rolls, 1509; Fr. Crawley, J.C.P., 1592; Edm. Reeve, J.C.P., 1605; Thos. Bedingfield, J.C.P., 1608; Wm. Steel, Ld. Chanc., Ireland, 1627; Hen. Bedingfield, J.C.P., 1650; Rob. Wright, Ch. Just., K.B., 1651; Jo. Rogerson, Ch. Just., K.B., Ireland, 1690; Hen. Penrice, Admiralty, 1696; Edw. Thurlow, Lord Chanc., 1748; Hen. Bickersteth, Master of Rolls, 1802; Edw. H. Alderson, Baron, 1805; Ri. Malins, Vice-Chanc., 1823;

Ri. Baggallay, Ld. Just. Appeal, 1834; Wm. B. Brett, Master of Rolls, 1835; Jo. Pearson, Chancery, 1837; Matt. I. Joyce, Chancery, 1858.

Miscellaneous.—In addition to the above, and the Masters of the College, most of those in the following list have already found a place in the D. N. B., or will most likely eventually do so. As in that dictionary, living celebrities are not included:

Walt. Elveden, mathematician, 1350; Jo. Wate, mathematician, 1350; Wm. Warner, Reformer, 1499; Wm. Butts, physician, 1506; Ed. Crome, Reformer, 1506; Thos. Arthur, 1512; Thos. Pathmer, Reformer, 1518; Thos. Wendy, physician, 1519; Sim. Smith, Reformer, 1519; Sygar Nicholson, printer, 1520; Henry Walker, physician; Thos. Gresham, 1530; Ri. Taverner, author, 1530; Wm. Buckmaster, divine, 1533; Sir Wm. Drury; Rob. Hare, antiquary, 1545; Wm. Sone, author, 1548; Humph. Tyndall, Pres. of Queens', 1555; Thos. Paget, politician, 1559; Ch. Paget, politician, 1559; Ro. Norton, divine, 1559; Ri. Hall, divine, 1561; Geo. Gardiner, divine, 1561; Ed. Cosen, divine, 1561; Steph. Perse, physician, 1565; Jo. Maplet, author, 1566; Jo. Ballard (Babington's plot), 1570; Nich. Faunte, author, 1572; Thos. Muffet, physician, 1572; Ri. Holtby, Jesuit, 1573; Jo. Fingley, Romish priest, martyr, 1573; Miles Mosse, divine, 1575; Ri. Swale, 1576; Gerv. Markham, soldier, duellist, 1576; Rob. Sayer, monk, author, 1576; Ed. Wright, mathematician, 1576; Geo. Estey, divine, 1577; Thos. Mudd, musician, 1577; Jan. Gruter, scholar, 1577; Reg. Eaton, Jesuit, 1577; Wm. Deane, Romish martyr, 1577; Jo. Fletcher, astrologer, 1578; Jo. Heydon, duellist, 1578; Thos. Fale, author, 1579; Ant. Cade, divine, 1581; Jo. White, divine, 1586; Jo. Pory, author, traveller, 1587; Hen. Aynsworth, Puritan, 1587; Ri. Parker, antiquary, 1590; Jo. Dey, dramatist, 1592; Wm. Harvey, physiologist, 1593; Ed. Johnson, musician, 1593; Sam. Garey, divine, 1598; Wm. Moore, scholar, librarian, 1606; Wm. Watts, divine, 1606; Geo. Phillips (America), 1610; Jo. Allen, Puritan, 1612; Eleaz. Duncon, divine, 1614; Wm. Lewing, Royalist, 1615; Fran. Glisson, physiologist, 1617; Alex. Grose, divine, 1618; Rob. Sheringham, scholar, 1619; John Knight, surgeon, 1620; Wm. Denny, author, 1621; Jo. Tillinghast, Puritan, 1621; Thos. Allen, Puritan, 1624; Ri. Watson, divine, 1628; Edm. Whincop, Puritan, 1632; Rob. Browne, herald, 1636; Edw. Barker, Puritan, 1637; Thos. Tailor, Puritan, 1641; Ed. Gelsthorpe, physician, 1643; Jo. Burton,

schoolmaster, 1646; Dan. Harvey, diplomatist, 1646; Hen. Chauncey, historian, 1647; Wm. Seaman, Orientalist, 1647 (D. N. B., I think, wrong here); Ed. Hickhorngill, divine, 1650; Owen Stockton, Puritan, 1650; Hen. Jenks, tutor, author, 1652; Jo. Ruddle, author, 1654; Mal. Thurston, physician, 1655; Thos. Shadwell, poet, 1655; Josh. Basset, Master of Sidney, 1657; Ad. Elyott, author, 1664; Jer. Collier, divine, 1666; Titus Oates, 1666; Dan. Baker, poet, 1670; Jo. Prince, author, 1674; Jo. Dennis, critic, 1676; Hen. Wharton, historian, 1680; Elias Daffy, 'elixar,' 1681; James Drake, physician, politician, 1685; James Dover, 'powder,' 1686; Bramp. Gurdon, divine, 1687; Ri. Welton, divine, Non-juror, 1688; Sam. Clarke, metaphysician, 1690; Thos. Pyle, divine, 1692; Jo. Clarke, divine, 1700; Thos. Macro, divine, 1700; Maur. Shelton, author, 1701; Wm. Webster, divine, 1708; Jo. Mickleburgh, chemist, 1709; Sam. Shuckford, divine, 1712; Wm. Tiffin, author, 1713; Thos. Broughton, divine, 1723; Fr. Blomefield, historian, 1724; Ant. Norris, antiquary, 1727; Roger Kedington, divine, 1729; Ch. Davy, author, 1739; Edm. Nelson, father of the Admiral, 1741; Thos. P. Young, antiquary, 1741; Jo. G. King, author, 1747; Thos. Boyce, author, 1750; Sir J. Fenn, antiquary, 1756; Jo. Frere, antiquary, 1758 (D. N. B. wrong here); Fitzjohn Brand, author, traveller, 1762; Ch. Coates, historian, 1762; Wm. Clubb, author, 1762; Thos. Lynch, member of first Congress, U.S., 1767; Sam. Vince, astronomer, 1770; Joseph Smith, sec. to W. Pitt, 1774; Ch. Davy, author, 1776; Ri. Forby, antiquary, 1776; Wm. Kirby, naturalist, 1776; Charles Burney, scholar, 1776; R. D. Willis, physician, 1778; J. L. Girdlestone, author, 1780; W. H. Wollaston, chemist, 1782; Jo. Brinkley, astronomer, 1783; C. R. Pemberton, physician, 1784; Wm. Gunn, author, 1784; J. S. Cobbold, author, 1785; Thos. Green, author, 1786; Wm. Gooch, astronomer, 1786; J. H. Frere, diplomatist, 1786; Jo. Johnson, author, 1787; Rob. Woodhouse, mathematician, 1790; Thos. Manning, traveller, author, 1790; Geo. Rhodes, physician, 1791; Ja. Fellowes, physician, 1791; Dav. Jones, pamphleteer, 1796; Wm. Wilkins, architect, 1796; Ch. F. Barnewell, antiquary, 1797; Wm. H. Williams, physician, 1798; Ch. Lloyd, poet, 1798; Hon. H. R. Pakenham, General, 1799; Jo. A. Paris, scientific writer, 1803; J. S. M. Fonblanque, lawyer, 1804; Geo. W. Chad, diplomatist, 1805; Rob. Gooch, physician, 1805; E. V. Blomfield, scholar, 1807; Wm. French, Master of Jesus, 1807; W. S. Gilly, author, 1808; Geo. B. Jermyn, antiquary, 1808; Rob. Batty, soldier, artist, 1808;

E. T. F. Bromhead, author, 1808; T. J. Judkins, author, preacher, 1810; Jo. H. Pinder, Principal of Wells College, 1811; Rich. Jones, pol. economist, 1811; A. C. L. D'Arblay, 1813; Rich. Cobbold, author, 1814; H. H. Parish, diplomatist, 1819; Sir Geo. Burrows, physician, 1820; Rob. Willis, antiquary, etc., 1821; Is. P. Cory, historian, 1821; Ant. Rich, Orientalist, 1821; T. K. Hervey, poet, 1822; Wm. B. Donne, critic, 1824; H. W. Herbert, author, 1825; Rob. Murphy, mathematician, 1825; J. M. Rodwell, Orientalist, 1825; Arth. Farre, physician, 1825; Wm. C. Henry, chemist, 1826; Sir G. E. Paget, physician, 1827; W. C. Haines, Australian statesman, 1827; Geo. Budd, physician, 1827; R. H. Groome, author, 1828; Jo. H. Pratt, physicist, 1828; Hen. Drury, scholar, 1831; Ed. Hare, C.S.I., surgeon, 1831; T. S. Egan, writer, rowing 'coach,' 1833; Geo. Green, mathematician, 1833; C. P. Miles, author, 1833; Whitwell Elwin, critical author, 1834; Mat. O'Brien, mathematician, 1834; Thos. Solly, philosophical writer, 1834; W. K. Loftus, geologist, 1840; E. L. Ormerod, physician, 1840; Ed. Maitland, 'spiritualist,' 1843; C. F. Mackenzie, missionary Bishop, 1845; Thos. Chenery, Arabic scholar and editor of *Times*, 1849; S. M. Kempson, Indian educationist, 1849; L. W. M. Lockhart, author, 1850; R. L. Bensly, Orientalist, 1851; A. H. Green, geologist, 1851; E. S. Kennedy, Alpine explorer, 1852; F. Lockwood, Sol.-General, 1865; G. J. Romanes, naturalist, 1867; Rich. Shutte, philosophical writer, 1869.

* *Rowing 'Blues.'*—W. M. Jones (1836); W. R. Croker (1841); J. Abercombie (1838); F. S. Green (1836); W. B. Brett (1839); J. M. Croker† (1841); W. H. Yatman (1839); J. Raven (1844); G. Mann (1844-45); C. T. Smith† (1854); F. M. Arnold (1844-45); C. H. Crosse† (1851-52); S. V. Stephenson (1853); J. H. Lubbock (1858); J. Still‡ (1866-67-68); T. W. Lewis (1876-77); L. G. Pike (1876-77-78); J. W. Noble (1891); D. Pennington (1896-97); E. J. D. Taylor (1897); E. C. Hawkins† (1897-98).

* *Cricketing 'Blues.'*—A. A. Farmer (1836); F. Thackeray (1838-39-40); J. Abercrombie (1838); W. B. Trevelyan (1842-43); J. H. Raymond-Barker (1844); S. M. Kempson (1851, 1853); W. Maule (1853); J. E. Harris (1859); E. P. Ash (1865); C. J. Brune (1867-68-69); B. Preston (1869); F. E. R. Fryer (1870-71-72-73); E. P. Baily (1872, 1874); V. K. Shaw (1876); F. E. Lacey (1882); F. Mitchell§ (1894-95-96-97).

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* Dates of race or match. † Coxswain.

‡ President of the University Boat Club. § Captain of the Eleven.

In case any statistically minded freshman may like to calculate his chances of distinction, on admission to our College, the following data are commended to his attention. The total number of known members from 1349 to 1870 (after which date it may be assumed that some careers are yet to be made) is approximately 7,000. Out of this total there have been produced, as nearly as can be ascertained :

Bishops, Home, 20 ; Colonial, 6.
Deans, 10.
Priors and Abbots of Monasteries, 9.
Archdeacons, 35.
Prebendaries and Canons, 116.
Judges, 17.
Colonial and County Court Judges, Recorders, etc., 35.
Professors, Cambridge, 22 ; elsewhere, 31.
Members of Parliament, 62.
Fellows of the Royal Society, 46.

Of the 7,000 I reckon that altogether about 280 come up to what may be called the 'D. N. B. standard,' *i.e.*, about 4 per cent.

How these results compare with those of other colleges it is difficult to say, as corresponding statistics have not, as far as I know, been compiled, or at least published, elsewhere. My impression is that the roll of Bishops is below the average, since our College was never very theological ; that that of Judges is nearly about, and that of eminent medical men decidedly above the average.

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